Revolution, Rebellion and Vampires: Colonial Hybridity in Irish Gothic Literature and

Historical Documents

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and has not been submitted, in whole or part, by me or another person, for the purpose of obtaining any other qualification.

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Abstract

Colonial hybridity remains one of the most widely deployed and disputed literary theories within Postcolonial Studies. This thesis will provide an overview of colonial hybridity in Irish historical documents as well as Irish folklore and Irish gothic literature. I will use Homi Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) as the primary theoretical resource to highlight the examples of colonial hybridity throughout Irish history, folklore and literature. I will also discuss the debatable idea that Ireland is postcolonial.

In this thesis I examine the 1641 legal depositions relating to the Irish rebellion of 1641, tracing colonial hybridity through the murder of Bridget Cleary and the involvement of Irish fairy folklore in her death. I discuss the vampires of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker towards the end of the 19th century in relation to the principal theorists of hybridity; Homi Bhabha, Néstor García Canclini, Gayatri Spivak, Robert J.C. Young and Paul Gilroy. I also discuss the more contemporary research of Angela Bourke, Seamus Deane, David Lloyd and Luke Gibbons.

The final chapter discusses postcolonial trauma in Patrick McCabe's *Winterwood* (2006), and examines how even the term postcolonial can be contentious as Anne McClintock argues that while the Republic of Ireland might be considered postcolonial, the people of Northern Ireland might feel differently. While acknowledging the valid criticisms of colonial hybridity, I argue that Robert J.C. Young's view that hybridity can be used as a source of assimilation is relevant in a world that is increasingly having more debates on hybridity in relation to such issues as nationality, colonialism, gender and sexuality.

Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis is to analyse examples of colonial hybridity in Irish historical documents such as the legal depositions from the 1641 Irish rebellion, Irish fairy folklore and Irish Gothic literature through the lens of the theories of Homi K. Bhabha. The thesis will examine how the Gothic trope of the vampire, the use of gender, female sexuality and patriarchy are all used to highlight colonial hybridity. It will argue that colonial hybridity is not just a response to but a form of resistance against an oppressive force. It will demonstrate how colonial hybridity and the Gothic do not begin with the first piece of Irish Gothic fiction and end with contemporary Irish Gothic literature but are concepts which encompass and stretch across Irish history, culture, folklore and literature.

Edward Said, arguably the founding pioneer of postcolonial studies described the process of beginning in the 'Introduction' to *Orientalism* as one that 'necessarily involves an act of delimitation by which something is cut out of a great mass of material, separated from the mass, and made to stand for, as well as be, a starting point, a beginning' (Said 2003, p.16). This thesis will be no different; for instance, the causes and origins of the 1641 rebellion in Ireland are varied. We will address both synchronic and diachronic causes and origins of the rebellion and the motives of the different factions. In regard to the Old Irish and Old English hybrid alliance against the British Empire, this could be seen as the motivations of the factions within the faction, similar to a Russian *matryoshka* doll, with each layer revealing another layer. A layer that, analogous to Sigmund Freud's notion of the uncanny, is something that is the same but different, represents itself as identical, but upon closer examination provides more insightful information on the hybridity of the past and how it imposes itself on the present.

Postcolonial Gothic is an established field with a significant research output over thirty

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years within postcolonial studies, which attempts to examine how and why authors employ a range of Gothic tropes when addressing aspects of colonial history, literature and folklore. This thesis will highlight how we can read Gothic literature and colonial hybridity in relation to each other in order to examine the relationship between the Gothic and colonialism. Postcolonial Gothic is a response to colonial social, historical and political conditions, and Philip Holden observes that the genealogy of postcolonial Gothic is clear, with scholars such as Patrick Brantlinger drawing on imperial Gothic literature and then moving 'forward in time, mostly to contemporary literary production' (Holden 2009, p.353). James Proctor and Angela Smith state that a 'provisional distinction' (Proctor and Smith 2007, p.95), could be drawn between Brantlinger's imperial Gothic and 'so-called postcolonial Gothic' (Proctor and Smith 2007, p.95). They highlight how imperial Gothic is defined by the anxiety of the collapse of religion brought about by a fall from 'civilisation into barbarism and savagery' (Proctor and Smith 2007, p.96), and, thus, the postcolonial Gothic could be defined as writing back to Gothic texts in order to subvert 'grand narratives of colonial mastery/degeneration' (Proctor and Smith 2007, p.96). Holden further asserts that the work in the area of postcolonial Gothic displays 'the Gothic's other face' (Holden 2009, p.353), subverting narratives 'and modes of representation that have their origin in colonialism and imperialism (Holden 2009, p.353). This is an observation Tabish Khair agrees with in his book, *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness*, when he states that 'the Gothic and the postcolonial are obviously linked by a common preoccupation with the Other and aspects of Otherness' (Khair 2009, p.3). Holden, however, states that the approach many scholars take to postcolonial Gothic loses 'the detailed attention to historical contexts' (Holden 2009, p.353), which is central to understanding colonial texts, Holden argues that 'the study of the postcolonial Gothic requires a commitment to historicism' (Holden 2009, p.353), in order to fully examine the Gothic tropes and

understand their meaning in a colonial context.

Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert in her essay 'Colonial and postcolonial Gothic : the Caribbean' provides a timeline of the colonial and postcolonial Gothic literature where the Gothic from its earliest history in England and Europe was 'fundamentally linked to colonial settings, characters, and realities' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.2). Paravisini-Gebert highlights how the terrifying colonial presence which can be found in English literary texts such as Charlotte Smith's *The Story of Henrietta* (1800) Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda* (1801), and Thomas Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799) 'mirrors a growing fear in British society around 1800 of the consequences of the nation's exposure to colonial societies, non-white races, non-Christian belief systems, and the moral evils of slavery' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.2). Paravisini-Gebert highlights how the anonymous *Hamel, the Obeah Man* (1827), follows Roland, a white preacher, in Jamaica who teaches about equality and attempts a slave rebellion are undermined by his desire to marry the daughter of a local plantation owner. The novel then subverts and portrays Roland's plans to overthrow the plantation as unnatural and destructive as the novel finds 'a hero in the black Obeah man, Hamel, who moves from enthusiastic revolutionary fervor to denunciation of the cause of revolutionary freedom' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.2).

Paravisini-Gebert discusses how the Gothic tropes particularly the trope of the zombie in Carribbean literature are 'rooted in British literature' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.12) before being transplanted to a colonial setting in the Caribbean and notes the number of Caribbean novels which can be directly linked to the work of Emily and Charlotte Bronte, particularly Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights from:

> Jean Rhys's Wide Sargasso Sea (1966), V. S. Naipaul's Guerrillas (1975), Michelle Cliff's Abeng (1984), and No Telephone to Heaven (1987), and Rosario Ferré's Maldito amor (1986 ; Sweet Diamond Dust,

1988) to Jamaica Kincaid's The Autobiography of My Mother (1996) - span forty years of Gothic literature in the Caribbean, proof of a continuing dialogue through which Caribbean writers seek to reformulate their connections to and severance from a European language and tradition.

(Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.12)

While it is one of the aims of this thesis to provide the historical and cultural context when examining the Gothic and colonial hybridity in an Irish context, Paravisini-Gebert reminds us that 'the colonial space […] is by its very nature a bifurcated, ambivalent space, where the familiar and unfamiliar mingle in an uneasy truce' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.2). And, thus, the Gothic lends itself to postcolonial discourse both in an Irish and an international context.

Colonial hybridity is fundamentally associated with postcolonial discourse and its critique of colonialism. The principal theorists of hybridity are Homi Bhabha, Néstor García Canclini, Gayatri Spivak, and Paul Gilroy, and their various interventions remain some of the most influential on hybridity. In Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994), Bhabha defines colonial hybridity as a liminal and constantly shifting paradigm of colonial anxiety. It is Bhabha's contention that one of the central tenets is the hybridity of colonial identity which created a cultural context in which the colonisers became ambivalent and, thus, the authority of power was significantly, if subtly, altered. For Bhabha hybridity can then be used to highlight how cultures come to be defined by repetition and translation. In his view, meanings which are addressed through an Other contest any 'essentialist claims for the inherent authenticity or purity of cultures which, when inscribed in the naturalistic sign of symbolic consciousness frequently become political arguments for the hierarchy and ascendary of powerful cultures' (Bhabha 2004, pp. 83-84). Bhabha states that the colonial subject is located in a third space between coloniser and colonised, and that this hybrid space is created by repetition and translation by the coloniser, so that both coloniser and colonised became changed, a hybrid.

Bhabha theorises that the 'discriminatory effects' (Bhabha 2004, p.132) do not create or refer to a singular person, nor does it assume that it creates a barrier between 'mother culture and alien culture' (Bhabha 2004, p.132), but that this third hybrid space is formed by a 'process of splitting' (Bhabha 2004, p.132). This hybrid space, where neither the coloniser nor the colonised is unchanged, creates an image of doubling. The colonised is still under the control and power of the coloniser, but is simultaneously subverting its colonial oppressor by adapting colonial language, religion or characteristics.

Critics have noted that this aspect of hybridity makes the presence of colonial authority not immediately present or visible. Indeed, critics responding to Bhabha's theories on hybridity have stated that using the concept of hybridity to effectively rewrite the history of colonialism 'denies the power relationships under imperialism then and now' (Carroll 2003, p.7). In the case of postcolonialism in Ireland, Anne McClintock goes further and criticises the term postcolonialism for the self-congratulatory nature of the word. McClintock believes this to be pre-mature in the case of Ireland, where McClintock notes that while the Republic of Ireland might be considered postcolonial, the people living in Northern Ireland would feel that there is 'nothing ''post'' about colonialism at all' (McClintock 1992, p.87). Ella Shohat insists that hybridity lacks the specificity to differentiate between divergent experiences of subjection to colonial power as 'forced assimilation, internalized self-rejection, political co-optation, social-conformism, cultural mimicry, and creative transcendence' (Shohat 1992, p.110). Theorists of hybridity argue that hybridity is a liminal state constantly shifting and changing, and in this vein, Robert J.C. Young maintains that the discussions around hybridity demonstrates how contemporary thought and discussion has 'broken absolutely with the racialized formulations of the past' (Young 2005, p.5). And while the problems that Shohat or McClintock highlight regarding hybridity are valid, one does not have to look further than the loss of the Irish

language in Ireland after the Great Famine, an observation highlighted by the poet Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill who compares Irish speaking parents unable to communicate with their English speaking children with 'missing limb syndrome' (Carroll 2003, p.8). However, it is Young's view that while hybridity can be invoked to imply 'contrafusion and disjunction' (Young 2005, p.16), it can and should be used as a source of 'fusion and assimilation' (Young 2005, p.16). For Young, hybridity has left its racist origins behind it as a multi-cultural and globalised world continues to develop, and the acceptance and understanding of hybridity in all its forms should be celebrated for its broad inclusivity.

In this latter respect, Young leans on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory that language is by its very nature, hybrid, arguing that hybridity successfully portrays language's fundamental ability to be 'simultaneously the same but different' (Young 2005, p.19). Bakhtin describes how the hybridity of language means that whatever form it comes in, language belongs to a single speaker but it contains two styles, languages and 'two semantic and axiological belief systems' (Young 2005, p.19). So one language uttered by one person contains these hybrid structures and they 'intersect in a hybrid construction—and consequently, the word has two contradictory meanings, two accents' (Young 2005, p.19). In the foreword to Néstor García Canclini's book *Hybrid Cultures* (1995), Renato Rosaldo describes Canclini's work as defending hybridity as 'the ongoing condition of all human cultures' (Rosaldo 1995, p.xv). Canclini observes that not only is hybridity devoid of any 'zones of purity' (Rosaldo 1995, p.xv), but is a consistent and continuous process of transculturation, as Canclini suggests that it is 'hybridity all the way down' (Rosaldo 1995, p.xv). It will be the contention of this thesis to take this liminal, amorphous definition of colonial hybridity and apply it to Irish Gothic literature, historical documents and Irish folklore in order to examine and highlight the hybridity that exists in these texts.

Bhabha's theories on hybridity involve a theory that when coloniser and colonised meet, a third intermediary space develops where both coloniser and colonised are transformed. The first objective of this thesis will involve the collection and analysis of primary Irish historical sources and folklore material. This historical foundation will develop the concepts of hybridity as an historical force that pre-dates Irish Gothic literature before being developed in a selection of Irish Gothic literature. The thesis will be constructed in chronological order beginning with the legal depositions from the 1641 Irish rebellion. It will then examine Irish folklore and fairy narratives and their hybrid identity. Highlighting how the Irish word of *sìdhe* became translated into the English word 'fairy,' and how this displays the binary of Irish/English, which Bhabha states lies at the heart of the hybrid relationship between coloniser and colonised.

The thesis will then synthesise the selected historical data on colonial Gothic hybridity with Irish Gothic literature such as Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* and Patrick McCabe's *Winterwood*. A body of internatirieonal Gothic criticism and analysis provides an important, if at times limited, bibliography on Gothic colonialism. Tabish Khair's *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness* (2009) is one of the more prominent books written on the subject. Alison Rudd's *Postcolonial Gothic Fictions from the Caribbean, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (2010) provides an analysis of the way the Gothic has provided writers from the Caribbean, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand with a means to express the anxieties of colonial experience and the traumatic legacies of colonialism. A number of academic articles which deal specifically with postcolonial Gothic hybridity, including Jordan Stouck's article 'Abjecting Hybridity in Helen Oyeyemi's The Icarus Girl' deals with colonial Gothic hybridity in Helen Oyeyemi's debut novel *The Icarus Girl*. Diana Mafa offers a feminist perspective on Oyeyemi's novel in her article on Gothic hybridity 'Ghostly Girls in the "Eerie Bush": Helen Oyeyemi's The Icarus Girl as Postcolonial Female Gothic Fiction'. Michelle

Giles analyses colonial hybridity in the work of Arundhati Roy in her article 'Postcolonial Gothic and *The God of Small Things*: The Haunting of India's Past'. There are a number of individual peer-reviewed academic articles on this particular aspect of postcolonial Gothic, however, there is a more limited oeuvre of academic analysis dealing specifically with colonial hybridity in Irish Gothic literature. Jim Hansen's book *Terror and Irish Modernism* (2009) offers a substantial overview of Irish Gothic from Oscar Wilde to James Joyce. Hansen does establish the links between the techniques of doubling and their connections to fear and terror; however, the concept of colonial hybridity is not further elucidated upon. Hansen, of course, primarily dealing with the aspects of Irish modernism and Irish Gothic in his work, would have been straying from the point of his research, however interesting the result might have been from a colonial hybridity perspective of Irish Gothic literature.

Derek Gladwin comes closest in his book, *Contentious Terrains* (2016). Gladwin's work focussing on Ireland's boglands and postcolonial Gothic examines the hybridity of the bog in Irish literature and society. Gladwin astutely highlights how the hybrid nature of Ireland's bog challenges 'neocolonialism, which during the Celtic Tiger years insisted that modernity, in the form of consumerism and development, was the only way to shirk the colonial past' (Gladwin 2016, p.210). This thesis aims to highlight how postcolonial Gothic can be seen as a form of resistance and how this resistance is highlighted using Bhabha's theories of colonial hybridity. Our readings will demonstrate how hybridity crosses the liminal boundaries of gender in Le Fanu's *Carmilla* and Stoker's *Dracula*, of history in the legal depositions of the Irish rebellion of 1641, as well as both social class in the case of Bridget Cleary and the trauma of *Winterwood*. While the Gothic originates and exists in an environment of uncertainty, the postcolonial Gothic can leave colonial questions unanswered and crises unresolved. It is the contention of this thesis that the postcolonial Gothic interrogates colonial practices, providing an invaluable

historical and literary viewpoint which allows for the ability to see and hear old worlds and voices in a new perspective.

As stated above, the methodology used in this project will include the theories of Homi K. Bhabha, making significant use of his key text, *The Location of Culture* (1994), in which the liminality of hybridity is classified as an archetype of colonial anxiety. The principal proposition is the hybridity of colonial identity, which, as a cultural form, made the colonial masters ambivalent, altering the authority of power so that hybridity is presented as a strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal. Hybridity re-evaluates the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. In this way, hybridity can unsettle the narcissist demands of colonial power, but reforms its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the colonist.

Bhabha published *The Location of Culture* in 1994 and it began a renaissance in hybridity theory, the following year two more works on hybridity would extend the notion of cultural hybridity. The term hybrid has its origins in race especially in the nineteenth century, as Robert J. C. Young observes in his work *Colonial Desire* (1995). Young highlights how diachronically the term hybrid was associated with forms of social Darwinism, eugenics and 'the adaptation of evolutionary theory to ideas of racial supremacy and the extinction of races' (Young 1995, p.12). Young charts the transformation of the hybrid and hybridity from a racial one to a term that 'has become our own again. In the nineteenth century it was used to refer to a physiological phenomenon; in the twentieth century it has been reactivated to describe a cultural one' (Young 1995, p.5). In *Hybrid Cultures* (1995), Nestor Garcia Canclini continued the rehabilitation of hybridity, when he notes how it is 'in the final decade of the twentieth century that the analysis of hybridization becomes most extensive in the treatment of a broad range of cultural processes' (Canclini 2001, p.xxiii). Paul Gilroy also addresses hybridity in *The Black Atlantic:*

Modernity and Double Consciousness, extending the theories of hybridity in his research on African history, language and culture. Gilroy notes the origins of hybridity but sees the redefinition of the word as a tool against ideas of racial purity. He argues that hybridity allows us to think outside of traditional binaries and that his research is 'about the inescapable hybridity and intermixture of ideas' (Gilroy 1993, p.xi). Stuart Hall develops hybridity further when he states that it is only 'by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity' (Hall 1994, p.235) that an insight into true identity can be attained.

The work of David Lloyd will be used to demonstrate how the clash of the tradition/modernity binary, which welcomed free-spirited people like Bridget Cleary also pushed people like Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary to the fringes of society. This has resulted in the reality that the institutions of the modern state which have emerged from the 'resistance of the colonized' (Lloyd 2008, p.4), are not fully formed or imposed flawlessly on the people they are meant to transform so that 'the modern state and the practices of the colonized continually react upon and displace each other' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). Lloyd's work will also highlight how Dracula's plot to leave Transylvania for London is an example of what Lloyd calls 'the structure of myth' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). Added to which the sight of Dracula leaving his old castle in Transylvania is a symbol of the past finding its 'place and meaning in a relation with the present' (Lloyd 2008, p.15).

The development of these theories synthesised with the Irish historical and folklore material will provide a methodological framework for the thesis. A methodology which will be used to develop the colonial themes of hybridity in the Irish Gothic literature of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, Bram Stoker and Patrick McCabe. This will all be utilized in demonstrating how the colonial theories of hybridity are not confined just to Irish Gothic literature but that

Irish Gothic literature is an extension of these theories which can be seen in the 1641 legal depositions. The thesis will select key legal depositions from the digitised 1641 Irish Depositions Project created by Trinity College Dublin. This was a Commission charged with collecting statements set up in December 1641. Trinity College Dublin began the 1641 Depositions Project to conserve, digitise, transcribe and make the depositions available online. The project began in 2007 and finished in September 2010. The 1641 Depositions are witness testimonies, mainly by Protestants, concerning their experiences of the 1641 Irish rebellion. The testimonies document the loss of goods, military activity, and the alleged crimes committed by the Irish insurgents, including assault, stripping, imprisonment and murder. This body of material is unparalleled anywhere in early modern Europe and provides a unique source of information for the causes and events surrounding the 1641 rebellion and for the social, economic, cultural, religious, and political history of seventeenth-century Ireland (Trinity College Dublin, n.d). This project will select key depositions and apply both the conventions of the Gothic and the colonial theories of Bhabha to identify colonial hybridity within the depositions.

A Gothic postcolonial argument will be constructed through the careful analysis of the texts of the depositions and demonstrate the colonial hybridity within the depositions. This thesis will select the key moments of the origins of the 1641 rebellion and analyse the origins from a postcolonial hybrid perspective. The origins of the 1641 rebellion begin in the failure of the English State in Ireland to assimilate the native Irish elite in the aftermath of the Elizabethan conquest and plantation of the country. The pre-Elizabethan Irish population is usually divided into the Old Irish (Gaelic) and the Old English, who would have been descendants of medieval Norman settlers. These groups were historically violent and aggressive towards each other. The Old English settled areas such as the Pale around Dublin, south Wexford, and other walled

towns that were fortified against the rural Old Irish. By the seventeenth century, the cultural divide between the two groups at elite social levels was declining rapidly. Many Old English lords spoke the Irish language, adopted Irish customs and dress, extensively patronised Irish poetry and music, and have been described as *Níos Gaelaí ná na Gaeil féin* (more Irish than the Irish themselves), a phrase used in Irish historiography to describe a phenomenon of cultural assimilation in late medieval Norman Ireland. Intermarriage between the two groups became common. Moreover, in the wake of the Elizabethan conquest, the native population became defined by their shared religion, Roman Catholicism, in distinction to the new Church of England and Church of Scotland of settlers, and the officially Protestant (Church of Ireland) English administration in Ireland. This thesis will measure this cultural assimilation in association with Bhabha's contention that in the Third Space of Enunciation both the colonised and the coloniser are transformed. This will be achieved by analysing Irish historical documents, primary source folklore material and Irish Gothic literature, creating what Jacques Derrida would describe as the attempt to 'find the tensions, the contradictions, the heterogeneity within their own corpus' (Derrida 2013, p.9). For Bhabha, this means that the colonial subject is located in a place of hybridity, its identity formed in a space of iteration and translation by the coloniser. Bhabha emphasises that:

> the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, for instance, do not simply or singly refer to a 'person'… or to a discrimination between mother culture and alien culture…the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation.
>
> (Bhabha 2004, p.132).

Primary source material has been taken from the National Folklore Collection, which has been digitised and made available online by University College Dublin, an institute recognised as one of Europe's largest archives of oral tradition and cultural history, and inscribed in 2017 to the UNESCO Memory of the World Register. The collection contains a large selection of primary and secondary sources dealing with Irish life, folk history and culture. The project will select primary source material on the folklore surrounding Irish fairies and classify the elements of colonial hybridity within these documents in order to furnish a postcolonial perspective on the binary oppositions of oppression/freedom and submission/resistance within Irish fairy folklore and mythology. The manuscripts and rare printed materials in the collection span many aspects of human endeavour, from material culture to oral literature, language and artistic expression. Inspired by the systematic efforts of Scandinavian scholars to document their own folklore and cultural history in the early 20th century, the Commission of Irish Folklore worked to document Irish traditions. This was a period in Irish history when the Irish language was in decline. However, the effects of modernity, urbanisation and industrialisation had not yet erased older cultural beliefs, superstitions and practices, and it was these traditions which the Commission hoped to preserve (UCD n.d.). The project will analyse this material using postcolonial theory to demonstrate traces of colonial hybridity in Irish Gothic literature.

The works of Sigmund Freud and Ashis Nandy will be employed to inform the psychological aspects of the colonial analyses. In *The Intimate Enemy*, Nandy describes colonialism as 'a shared culture which may not always begin with the establishment of alien rule in a society and end with the departure of the alien rulers from the colony' (Nandy 1983, p.2). Such a contention will provide a psychological insight into colonialism which will complement our uses of the psychoanalytical theories of Freud and Jacques Lacan. Nandy also notes how there are instances where colonialism is not entirely motivated by resources,

economic acquisitions and political power but that there are instances where 'colonialism could be characterised by the search for economic and political advantage without concomitant *real* economic or political gains, and sometimes even with economic or political losses' [italics in original] (Nandy 1983, p.1). This is important when discussing the 1641 rebellion and the reasons for rebellion, which were varied depending on what your social status was and also for whom you believed you were fighting for and against. While some were motivated by economics, fearing that political turmoil in England might lessen their hold on land and degrade their social status, the Old Irish had more nationalistic reasons to rebel still carrying grudges from the past. And yet, as mentioned previously, both sides had intermarried and become integrated with each other, displaying the subtle psychological mind set which was taking place.

Freud's will be used to produce detailed colonial psychological readings, particularly in the discussion of Le Fanu's *Carmilla*. This will relate specifically to issues surrounding Laura's memory loss in terms of her childhood, and her fractured sense of identity. These aspect of LeFanu's narrative are given a Freudian reading that navigates Laura's conscious and subconscious and her memory loss. This memory loss is what Freud would call a concealed memory which he describes as a 'peculiarity in the temporal relation between the concealing memory and the contents of the memory concealed by it' (Freud 2003, p.32). Freud believed that repression always returned; and even if the person was unaware of the repressed memory in his or her consciousness, it would still remain there, and find a way to break through to the conscious, as the person was 'obliged to repeat the repressed material as a contemporary experience instead of, as the physician would prefer to see, *remembering* it as something which belongs to the past' [italics in original] (Brill 2010, p.191).

At the end of *Carmilla*, Laura leaves the reader with the image of her alone in the dark

in her bedroom and the last thing that the reader is told is that she can hear Carmilla's footsteps. Jarlath Killeen notes how this hybrid 'sense of cultural hesitancy between the future and the past, the real and the supernatural, the Anglo and the Irish, runs through much of the literature of the Protestant Irish and helps to explain why the realist tradition was never very successful here' (Killeen 2006). In this vein, Christina Morin delves deeper into Ireland's relationship with trauma, atrocity, violence and the Gothic, arguing that:

> Irish literature attests to the ways in which all forms and genres of writing became gothicized precisely because the language of the literary gothic allowed writers to register atrocity, in the sense both of enumerating or recording actual acts of atrocity and of recording or becoming aware of the effects of those atrocities on Irish reality.

> (Morin 2014, p.2)

W.J. McCormack further builds on the relationship between Irish literature, the Gothic and trauma, especially in the work of Le Fanu. In fact, McCormack stipulates that Irish Gothic is open to Freudian theory, in particular, and notes that the changes in the publishing industry significantly created a commercial environment in which the Gothic, with its tales of vampires, ghosts and the undead, appealed to a mass readership as 'the once popular genre of historical novel gradually lost its appeal, while new commercial forces came to influence literary publication' (McCormack 2014, p.148). McCormack states that academic discourse on Irish Gothic means that the 'Irish culture demands a traumatic origin' (McCormack 2014, p.148). McCormack claims that events like the Great Famine often served as this traumatic origin, for W.B. Yeats it was Charles Stewart Parnell's death, the 1916 Easter Rising was a topic that was embraced by some Irish writers, while even Bloody Sunday of January 1972 was the focal point for Luke Gibbons. In his discussion of Stoker and Empire, Gibbons made the accurate observation that 'the march of progress in the heyday of empire extended not only to this world

but also to the next world' (Gibbons 2014, p.188). In Bram Stoker's *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902) the opening of the novel shows the central character standing on a cliff overlooking the sea where he witnesses a macabre procession of the spirits of dead fishermen from the past who died there. Gibbons demonstrates how time and trauma are intermingled with notions of the Irish Gothic, uncertainty and atrocity becoming the stable ingredients for Irish Gothic which is in line with Catherine Spooner's definition that the Gothic has traditionally been seen as a 'medium for the expression of cultural and social anxiety' (Spooner 2017 p.11).

In *Winterwood*, McCabe's exploration of identity and memory suggests that while it is dangerous to forget the past, McCabe highlights that it is equally dangerous to remember the past through a veil of nostalgia that clouds clarity of vision as Ned, Dominic and Hatch do. Freud's belief that 'the earliest recollections of a person often seemed to preserve the unimportant and accidental, whereas … not a trace is found in the adult memory of the weighty and affective impressions of this period' (Brill 1995, p.32), has special significance here. Freud highlighted this displacement of memory in an essay entitled 'Screen Memories', where he proposed that this displacement of memory was in fact better termed as a replacement of memory, as some of his patients who had experienced trauma reported having mundane memories with no obvious reason, significance or value, stored in their memories and that these would keep recurring. As these two opposing memories clash, it is the screen memory which conceals the traumatic memory: 'one of them takes the importance of the experience as a motive for wanting to be remembered, but the other – the force of resistance – opposes this preferential choice' (Freud 2003, p.7). This is a trait of Hatch, as he focusses on mundane memories, like how his daughter Imogen likes the Care Bears when she was a child but represses the fact that he has abducted and murdered his daughter.

In Chapter One, the thesis will classify the Gothic elements of the legal depositions of the 1641 Irish rebellion and the colonial hybridity which exists within the documents in order to revise the nature of the relationship between coloniser and colonised. The 1641 rebellion began as an attempted coup d'état by Irish Catholic gentry, who tried to seize control of the English administration in Ireland before descending into an ethnic conflict between the Gaelic Irish and old English Catholics on one side, and both ethnically English Protestants and Scottish/Presbyterian planters on the other. Trinity College Dublin created the 1641 Depositions Project which made the depositions available online. Spelling, capitalisation, punctuation and paragraphing follow the original text of the depositions. The thesis will identify and analyse the elements of hybridity evident in the depositions. For example, in the deposition of Elizabeth Price, we read of her claims to have seen a ghostly apparition take the shape of a woman in water 'there appeared vnto them a vision or spiritt assumeing the shape of a woman waste highe vpright in the water naked with elevated & closed handes, her haire disheivelled very white, her eyes seeming to twinckle in her head, and her skinn as white as snowe which spiritt or vision' (Price 1643). According to Bhabha, cultural identity is not created in the problematic binary conventions of ethnicity (us/them, familiar/foreign); rather, it is in 'the emergence of the interstices' (Bhabha 2004, p.2). Colonial writing classified Ireland and the Irish as superstitious and uncivilised as it did in many other colonies, however, in the selected depositions we witness members of the Irish Protestant community revealing a belief in superstition. It is Bhabha's assertion that this is a result of hybridity, where the interaction between coloniser and colonised creates a hybrid third space.

Chapter Two will measure Ireland's relationship with fairies and how they are 'interwoven into both the human and natural landscapes, and Ireland's fairy place-names and folk memories

of fairy encounters help to give a strong sense of place' (Butler 2018, p.95). Ireland's fairies were originally called *sìdhe*, an Irish word which became anglicised into the word fairy. This is suggestive of the poetical notions of fairies but 'this is not true of *sìdhe*. Medieval mythological writings give the term as *aes sìdhe* (or *aos sì* in Modern Irish), *aos* meaning 'people' and *sìdhe* meaning 'mounds', as they are beings said to have inhabited Ireland in mythical prehistory' (Butler 2018, p.96). Jan Vansina, a major innovator in the historical methodology of oral history, states that the 'oral tradition should be central to students of culture, of ideology, of society, of psychology, of art, and, finally, of history' (Vansina 1985, p.xi). Vansina highlights how folklore and the oral tradition should not be dismissed as idle superstition which contributes little to culture and will eventually fade from memory as 'the mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation' (Vansina 1985, p.xi). Diarmuid Ó Giolláin also states the importance of folklore 'as a proof of the historical depth of the nation in the absence of firm documentary evidence or of documented continuity with the past' (Ó Giolláin 2000, p.63). Indeed, Ireland is steeped in folklore and it is the purpose of this thesis to examine Irish folklore through the lens of postcolonial theory.

In Irish culture and superstition fairies have a colonial resonance, from their mythological origins, Irish fairies could be interpreted as having parallels with the Irish being dispossessed by a powerful coloniser and Irish fairies forced to give up their land to the Milesians and hide 'from the Milesians in their subterranean abodes' (Butler 2018, p.96). Displaced, they go underground, but still have to live in parallel with the colonising Milesians as their 'realm is intertwined with the physical world and, in that sense, they share the natural landscape with their human neighbours' (Butler 2018, p.99). The Milesians are seen as the invading humans that now inhabit Ireland, and should they interfere with or draw the attention of the fairies, they are subjected to bad luck or have their property vandalised or destroyed. It is Bhabha's

contention that this colonial doubling is a crucial part of the creation of the third hybrid space as 'it is precisely as a separation from origins and essences that this colonial space is constructed' (Bhabha 204, p.171). The thesis will collate primary source material collected by the Irish Folklore Commission which includes 'important studies published through the nineteenth century; vast (and still largely untapped) records of fairy sightings and fairy belief' (Young, Houlbrook 2018, p.8), and synthesise these with colonial theories of hybridity and Irish Gothic literature. Irish folklore and the oral tradition, which these primary source materials contain, is an important part of the attempt to preserve Irish culture. Indeed, during the 1930s when the Irish Department of Education and the Irish Folklore Commission carried out a nationwide collection of Irish folklore and culture, they informed the children to find the oldest person they knew and ask them about fairies and superstitions. The result is over 750,000 pages of Irish folklore covering everything from fairies and their forts to the genuine fear people had of interfering with fairies and their forts for fear of retribution, a belief that holds firm in 21st Century Ireland, with people and construction companies reluctant to destroy or damage Fairy Forts. In 1999, the discovery of a Fairy Bush which led to a fairy path and a fairy ring fort was incorporated into the design of the new £100 million plan to bypass Newmarket-on-Fergus and Ennis. Folklorist Eddie Lenihan had warned that if they were to destroy the Fairy Bush that the site in '10 to 15 years' time may have a higher than usual casualty list, including fatalities. He said: 'It is sacred ground, it doesn't revert to being a normal place' (Deegan 1999). After examining the Fairy Bush, the county engineer Tom Carey announced that the 'fairy bush would be incorporated into the landscaping of the bypass, adding it would not be affected by earth-moving' (Deegan 1999).

The work of Jacques Derrida will be used to highlight how the murder of Bridget Cleary is an example of Derrida's scapegoat, whereby, *pharmakon*, in philosophy and critical theory, is

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a composite of three meanings: remedy, poison, and scapegoat. Derrida's theory of the scapegoat is one which states that any perceived scapegoat is removed from the group or community in order to maintain an internal purity. In this case, Bridget Cleary can be seen as what Derrida describes as a scapegoat. The use of a sacrificial scapegoat is an example of Derrida's theories on the use of the word *pharmakon* where it can mean both poison and cure. Scapegoating has a long theological and mythological history as Richard Kearney highlights: '[c]ultic practices of scapegoating are common in early Greco-Roman society. One thinks of Prometheus bound to his sacrificial rock, Dionysus dismembered by the Maeneds, Iphigenia exposed to the sword, Remus cut down by Romulus' (Kearney 2003, p.260). The work of Derrida will provide a deconstruction of patriarchy and violence in regards to Bridget Cleary and Angela Bourke's historical account of the murder in her book *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* (2006) in an attempt to 'find the tensions, the contradictions, the heterogeneity within their own corpus' (Derrida 2013, p.9).

Chapters Three and Four will continue to locate hybridity in Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, secondary readings will provide historical and contemporary context on both the Gothic genre and the literary theories used in this part of the analysis. Khair's *The Gothic, Postcolonialism and Otherness* and Maria Beville's *The Unnameable Monster in Literature and Film*, are used to explore monsters and vampires as hybrids. As Beville notes about the character of Heathcliff in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*: 'we see that like most monsters, Heathcliff is a hybrid. Cathy herself explicitly describes him as such when she declares to Isabella that he is "a fierce pitiless, wolfish man"' (Beville 2014, p.91). In *Wuthering Heights* Heathcliff can be read as an extended hybrid of the Irish Famine immigrant, stranded in Liverpool at the time of the Famine. As Terry Eagleton states in *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* 'Heathcliff is a fragment of the famine, and goes on

a hunger strike towards the end of his life' (Eagleton 1995, p.11). Carmilla declares a similar opinion when she states that 'girls are caterpillars while they live in the world, to be finally butterflies when the summer comes; but in the meantime there are grubs and larvae, don't you see--each with their peculiar propensities, necessities and structure' (Le Fanu 2013, p.40). Count Dracula also has animalistic personality traits, and speaks poetically of hunting wild animals and wolves while simultaneously drawing a contrast with Jonathan with a subtle questioning of his masculinity; '"listen to them, the children of the night. What music they make!" Seeing, I suppose, some expression in my face strange to him, he added, "Ah, sir, you dwellers in the city cannot enter into the feelings of the hunter"' (Stoker 1994, p.29).

Brenda Mann Hammack highlights that the portrayal of bestial hybridity is not uncommon in Gothic literature, particularly when it comes to the portrayal of women and insanity in English literature. Kelly Hurley notes the hybrid nature of the Gothic, with 'the *doppelgänger* or double – Dr Jekyll's Mr Hyde, the alien 'body snatcher' – breaks down boundary between self and other' (Hurley 2007 p.139). Fred Botting also highlights how 'the self can be split in two, its double becoming a figure of imagination or fantasy separated from reality' (Botting 2014, p.13). In *The Routledge Companion to Gothic* Richard Haslam observes the hybrid nature of Irish Gothic:

> Some Irish authors use the Gothic mode extensively in one work (Maturin's *Melmoth*) but not in another (Maturin's *The Wild Irish Boy*). Or they splice the Gothic mode with other supernaturalist or quasi-supernaturalist modes, such as the ghost story (Bowen's *A World of Love*, 1955), the folkloric (Somerville and Ross's *The Silver Fox*, 1897), the theological (Le Fanu's 'Green Tea', 1869), the sensational (Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas*), or the mystagogical (W. B. Yeats' 'Rosa Alchemica', 1896).
>
> (Haslam 2007, p.87)

Similarly, Jarlath Killeen observes the hybridity of both Le Fanu's *Carmilla* and Stoker's

Dracula, when Mina is bitten by Count Dracula 'in a perverse parody of the Eucharist' (Killeen 2006). Furthermore, it is Van Helsing that claims that the sharing of blood is equal to sexual intercourse 'and if Dracula's blood courses through Mina's veins it must surely have been transferred to her new son' (Killeen 2006).

Staying with Stoker's novel, the thesis will use gender reversal in *Dracula* to highlight hybridity. Both Jonathan Harker and Count Dracula display traditional feminine traits, creating a hybrid third space between the characters and the gender norms of a sexually repressed Victorian era where 'the intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys this mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code' (Bhabha 2004, p.54). When Harker confronts the three brides of Count Dracula, Stoker reverses the gender roles. The three brides of Dracula are sexually aggressive and need a more feminine man. Traditionally, somebody looking out from under their eyelashes would be associated with the behaviour of women but here it is Harker who looks out from under his eyelashes, 'I lay quiet, looking out from under my eyelashes in an agony of delightful anticipation' (Stoker 1994, p.51). Harker's encounter with the vampires represents his battle with his hybrid role as both coloniser and colonised. David Lloyd's work will be used to examine modernity in *Dracula*. Lloyd explores colonial modernity in James Joyce's *Dubliners* (1914) in *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity in 1800-2000*, where he explores Joyce's use of paralysis in *Dubliners* to highlight the alienation of Irish people in colonial Ireland. Furthermore, Lloyd delves into also the history of the Irish orifice, the mouth, he examines the Irish famine, drinking alcohol and odour.

And Lloyd's focus tallies with Christopher Craft's essay, '"Kiss Me with those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', which examines the use of the vampire mouth

and lips to examine the homoerotic nature of vampires and the representation of sexuality within *Dracula*, this thesis will highlight how the use of the vampire mouth links *Dracula* to Irish mythological figures like the Banshee and Irish funeral traditions like keening. This thesis will highlight how odour in *Dracula* relates to colonial Ireland, and just as Joyce uses odour in *Dubliners* to demonstrate how any suspension of historical motion creates the possibility of 'counter–histories' (Lloyd 2011, p.115), so too does odour act as a symbolic representation of corruption in both *Dubliners* and *Dracula*. It will also analyse how paralysis in *Dracula* reflects male rage, alienation, drinking and paralysis affecting men in colonial Ireland. Our deployment of Emily Alder's work will continue the examination of colonial modernity in *Dracula*, examining how the use of Dracula's foreign Gothic ship, the *Demeter*, to invade England demonstrates how modernity and tradition clash when Dracula arrives in London. Alder, in her essay 'Dracula's Gothic Ship' highlights how 'the *Demeter*, like the Count himself, exists in an in-between state — undead, unreal, unnatural, Other' (Alder 2016, p.4). Alder observes that the name of the ship comes from Greek mythology where Demeter was the goddess of the harvest and fertility, who rescues her daughter Persephone from being taken to the Underworld by Hades and so the name of 'Dracula's ship suggests slippage between worlds' (Alder 2016, p.4). The 19th Century sea-narrative and the tradition of Gothic ships in Gothic literature will show how Dracula, the hybrid vampire, is unable to use his supernatural powers on modern technology, giving his opponents an advantage when pursuing him. But by the end of the novel his opponents are forced to revert to traditional weapons to destroy him; the closer they get to Transylvania the less effective the technology of modernity becomes and they are forced to fight Dracula, a symbol of tradition, using crucifixes and superstition to defeat Dracula.

Our analysis will examine femininity and sexuality in *Carmilla* and *Dracula* to highlight the question of identity for Laura in her relationship with Carmilla. Laura and Carmilla are two

colonial forces who forge a third hybrid space, a space which Bhabha states 'spreads beyond the knowledge of ethnic or cultural binarisms and becomes a new, hybrid space of cultural difference in the negotiation of colonial power-relations' (Bhabha 2004, p.292). This hybrid space subverts the patriarchal and male kinship system into which Laura is born. And Laura accepts the *status quo* while subconsciously longing to break free of the patriarchal bonds imposed on her by Victorian era gender-based ideologies, while Carmilla has a hybrid role acting as both the dispossessed victim of colonialism and the all-conquering colonial invader. From the restored portrait, Carmilla's existence can be dated back to 1698, a significant date in Irish history as it marks the implementation of the Penal Laws in Ireland. However, Carmilla is not just the past but she is the present also, having survived the centuries as a vampire she returns to her home and finds Laura and her father occupying her ancestral home. Similar to Count Dracula, Carmilla remembers the past nostalgically and dreams of a triumphant return 'in a moment I am perfectly myself. See how I have recovered' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45), fitting with Nandy's description of colonialism which does not always 'end with the departure of the alien rulers from the colony' (Nandy 1983, p.2). Carmilla has outlived colonialism but returns to discover that colonialism does not end with the removal of the oppressor.

In Chapter Five, the work of Lloyd and Bhabha will be used to examine Patrick McCabe's novel *Winterwood* (2006) to highlight how the main character, Redmond Hatch, is a hybrid character suffering from what Lloyd and Leela Gandhi call postcolonial trauma. For Lloyd, the after-effects of colonialism can be seen as the same effects any trauma would have on an individual, the effects of trauma on a person can be 'the will to forget or amnesia of the victim in relation to the terror of the occasion; the consequent dissociation and dislocation of the person, which generally introduces a sense of fragmentation; and above all, the 'unspeakableness' of the trauma itself' (Lloyd 2011, p.25). Indeed Lloyd deploys Gandhi in

his own observations on colonial trauma, arguing via Gandhi that, 'the colonial aftermath calls for an ameliorative and therapeutic theory which is responsive to the task of remembering and recalling the colonial past' (Lloyd 2008, p.22).

Taking place in late 20th and early 21st century Dublin, *Winterwood* shows how the past and the present can become tangled up as images of Ireland past, present and future, showing a fractured and hybrid nation through the eyes of a character who has a fractured sense of identity. *Winterwood* examines Irish identity through postmodern and postcolonial lens of history, language and culture. McCabe subverts Irish proverbs and clichés within the language of *Winterwood* and explores memory and trauma to create images of Ireland which are often contradictory, 'a kind of double-mimesis' (Schulze-Engler *et al* 2018, p.710). This is demonstrated in *Winterwood* by the hybrid character, Hatch, who detests the modernity of Ireland but simultaneously camouflages himself as a successful television producer living a millionaire lifestyle. But he eventually leaves it all behind to become a taxi driver and returns to his native rural mountain valley home, as Hatch becomes a victim of modernity who is stuck 'between a nostalgia-inflected, nativist old Ireland, and a superheated, commercialized Celtic Tiger Ireland' (Peterson 2009, p.51). McCabe analyses hybrid ideas of national identity through the romantic images of an Ireland that no longer exists. These romantic images of Ireland are aligned with a hybrid version of Irish music, in the form of fiddle playing and whiskey drinking, and this version of Ireland is juxtaposed with the reality of an economically prosperous, multi-cultural society. The juxtapositioning of the real and imaginary is what McCabe uses to challenge traditional 'icons of postcolonial literary traditions' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109) in *Winterwood* by subverting the tradition of the storyteller in Irish culture which has 'long been placed on high as the propagator of true Irish tradition, *teanga* and all' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109), and he does this by 'challenging the postcolonial tradition through

his own perverse storytellers, both Strange and Hatch' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109).

Chapter One

'More Irish Than the Irish Themselves'

The Gothic and Polticial Revolution

The ongoing dialogue between the Gothic and the colonial is not a new one. The first Gothic novel, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), was not yet forty years old when the eighteenth-century poet, Charlotte Smith, used the setting of the British colony of Jamaica for her novella *The Story of Henrietta* (1800). The novella explored a world of Gothic terror and brutality, 'where the terrors of the heroine's situation are exacerbated by her atavistic fears of Jamaica's African-derived magicoreligious practice of Obeah and the possibility of sexual attack by black males' (Paravisini-Gebert 2002, p.229). Similar Gothic elements punctuate the Caribbean setting of *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), Jean Rhys's reimagination of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847), in which Rhys gives a voice to the previously abjected, Bertha Mason. Charlotte's sister, Emily, provides a more subtle colonial text in *Wuthering Heights*. Published in 1847, Heathcliff can be read as an Irish famine immigrant, stranded in Liverpool; as Eagleton notes 'Heathcliff is a fragment of the famine, and goes on a hunger strike towards the end of his life' (Eagleton 1995, p.11). Indeed the Brontë sisters had an Irish parent in their father, Patrick. As Tabish Khair notes 'the Irish context remains valid in the case of *Wuthering Heights*, given the background of its author' (Khair 2009, p.23). Heathcliff is referred to throughout the text as the Other, a dark-skinned gypsy who is painted in 'diabolical and vampire-like hues overlapping with features of racial Otherness' (Khair 2009, p.23). *Wuthering Heights* demonstrates how the ghosts from the colonies invade the 'narratives of English and

spaces of Englishness in different ways' (Khair 2009, p.23). Heathcliff is both man and beast, as Maria Beville notes, 'we see that like most monsters, Heathcliff is a hybrid. Cathy herself explicitly describes him as such when she declares to Isabella that he is 'a fierce pitiless, wolfish man' (Beville 2014, p.91). In fact, the Gothic outsider's disruptive entry into the Earnshaw's English household can be read in the light of the same reverse colonisation found in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Here, an Irish author writes about Count Dracula invading the west, London, from Transylvania, in the east.

The origins of Gothic literature can be traced back to revolution, rebellion, violence and murder. Indeed, the sudden increase in the publication, and commercial success, of Gothic literature during the 1790s has a symbiotic relationship with the violence of revolution that was taking place on the streets of France during the 1790s. The aforementioned revolution threatened to spread to other countries, such as England. For instance, in Sheffield, mass meetings on the outskirts of the city attracted gatherings of ten thousand people 'protesting against the war and the lack of political reform' (Miles 2002, p.56). By 1848, even Ireland had staged a short-lived revolutionary uprising led by the Young Ireland movement. It took place on 29 July 1848 in the village of Ballingarry, County Tipperary. The popularity of the newly burgeoning genre of Gothic literature during these revolutionary times can be divided into pre- and post-1794. By dividing the decade into two separate time periods, it can be noted that the Gothic lagged behind the events to which it would later give a voice. Between 1790 and 1794 Gothic literature revolved around Edmund Burke's critique of the revolution and his 'idealisation of chivalry as a culturally transcendent force' (Miles 2002, p.54). Pre-1794, Gothic literature focussed its terror on themes of falling back into the medieval grip of the old regime. Thus, the work of Ann Radcliffe created scenarios where the central character was taken away from modern Europe and placed back in the wild, as seen in *The Romance of the*

Forest (1791) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). Post-1794, Gothic literature started to reflect the terror and horror of the early part of the decade.

The September Massacres of 1792 were a wave of killings in Paris and other French cities. There was a fear that foreign and royalist armies would attack Paris and that the inmates of the city's prisons would be freed and join them. Radicals called for pre-emptive action. The action was undertaken by mobs of National Guardsmen and some *fédérés*. It was condoned by the city government, which called on other cities to follow their example and eliminate the threat posed to France. By the 6th of September, half the prison population of Paris had been executed, and it is estimated that one-thousand two-hundred to one-thousand four-hundred prisoners were killed. These included two-hundred and thirty-three nonjuring Catholic priests who refused to submit to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. However, the great majority of those killed were common criminals jailed for petty crimes. The massacres were repeated in many other French cities. There were no criminal convictions for the murders. The execution of Louis XVI in January 1794, and Maximilien Robespierre in July 1794, further added to a decade of trauma and terror. But it would be the translation of German Gothic literature which best described the English response to the murder and mayhem which had gripped the world. German Gothic literature, such as Friedrich Schiller's *Ghost-Seer* did not broach revolutions in a direct manner. However, the plots of these stories were centered around conspiracies and took 'place in a myriad of hidden places: in forest houses, gaslit caves, or secret gardens' (Miles 2002, p.56).

Gothic author Stephen King, writing in his non-fiction work, *Danse Macabre* (1981), describes how the popularity of Gothic literature and movies increases during times of threat or anxiety. Pointing to the 1958 film, *Earth vs. the Flying Saucers*, as a symbolic political statement where 'those greedy, twisted old monsters piloting the saucers are really the

Russians; the destruction of the Washington Monument, the Capitol Dome, and the Supreme Court…becomes nothing less than the destruction one would logically expect when the A-bombs start to fall' (King 2002, p.28). King also notes how films like *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) were allegories for a wave of anti-communist paranoia during the 1950s in America when 'bodies such as the Central Intelligence Agency and the United States Information Agency utilized film during the Cold War, by secretly funding movie projects and by placing agents within the film industry to alter film content' (Holloway 2005, p.134). Such tactics highlight how Communism was used as a scapegoat to falsely create, and offer the solution to, the threat of fear and paranoia in the minds of individuals. Communism being used as a tool to corral people into accepting totalitarian rule as a part of their society often at the loss of civil liberties is as important today as it was in the 1950s as 'we confront the post-9/11 assault on individual rights, it is clear that what happened in the 1940s and 1950s was no aberration but the all too common reaction of a nation that seeks to protect itself by turning against its supposed enemies at home' (Schrecker 2004, p.1063). The trauma that fuels the Gothic has long been a way for the horrors of reality to be expressed in the relative safety of fiction both in literature and in film. Charles Scruggs states that World War One brought the 'revision and deepening of urban Gothic' (Scruggs 2014, p.123) seen in the film noir of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and into the present day. Scruggs states that even the title of the 2013 zombie movie *World War Z* is a reference to World War One, two wars, one fictional and one real, World War One brought 'photographs of surreal, gas-masked soldiers emerging from the poisoned fog of the trenches' (Scruggs 2014, p.123), which quickly became dramatized in film noir as 'sinister figures walking down black, wet streets, through labyrinthian alleys and ubiquitous fog' (Scruggs 2014, p.123). And this is why George Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) is both a zombie movie and a 'dark take on American life' (Scruggs 2014, p.123)

as the zombies return to the American suburbs to kill their victims.

The Gothic, therefore, has an association with trauma, allowing Gothic literature to speak the unspeakable. It is this association which can be found in the 1641 legal depositions, which invoke witchcraft, spirits seeking vengeance, religion and cultural assimilation. This period of colonisation, oppression, rebellion, and massacre is reflected via ghostly apparitions so that the subject is repulsed and attracted to this cultural activity which changes its 'ghosts of counterfits to address changing psychological and cultural longings and fears' (Hogle, 2002, p.17). Gerry Turcotte accurately notes that the space reserved as 'Other' for England may once have been Paris or Count Dracula's Transylvania. But the New World became the signifier of fear so that previously Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* took the reader to the wilds of Italy for Gothic tension and suspense, but soon it was 'the colonies which would become the register for all that was darkest and most obscene' (Turcotte 2005, p.104). This is an apt observation when discussing the legal depositions of the 1641 rebellion, as the depositions provide a rare window into the psychology of colonial Ireland during this time-period, and it is a view of Gothic psychological tropes and colonial hybridity which display a disruption between signified and signifier.

1641: Causes and Origins

The direct causes of the 1641 rebellion in Ireland were traditionally laid firmly at the feet of the 1609 plantation of Ulster, under King James I. The Ulster colonists, originating from Scotland and England, possessed different cultural and religious beliefs than the native Irish. As early as 1606, powerful and wealthy landowners had started small private plantations, almost as a future blueprint for the official Ulster Plantation, which would commence in 1609. The majority of the land colonised was forfeited by the native Gaelic chiefs, most of whom

proceeded to flee Ireland in 1607, following the Nine Years War, in what became known as the Flight of the Earls. Estimates put the plantation at nearly half a million acres. The Ulster Plantation was a perfunctory and understandable scapegoat for the 1641 rebellion. However, historical scholars have undertaken more nuanced and detailed research into the local, national, political and societal reasons for the rebellion, and they point to the accelerated deterioration of the material conditions of Catholics under Lord Deputy Thomas Wentworth's rule, as high rents and harsh laws meant they had been 'progressively marginalised' (Bartlett 2010, p.118). The Scottish Parliament went into open rebellion against Charles I and, despite wanting to go to war with Scotland, the English Parliament refused, preferring instead to prepare plans to invade Ireland and head off the Catholic threat that they felt was more urgent. As relations between the King and the English Parliament started to unravel, Catholics in Ireland who had retained property and social positions became anxious that these political developments would be detrimental to both their financial and social statuses. Many feared that if King Charles was undermined, or if his relationship with the English Parliament came under any further strain, they would be in danger of expropriation and even persecution, leaving them vulnerable and without the support they would need to maintain their status if the power of the King were to be significantly limited.

With the belief that King Charles was secretly conspiring to create allies to support him, a complex conspiracy was created to take control of Dublin Castle in the name of King Charles. The rebellion lost support quickly and was then taken over by a group of Irish who had been treated favourably by the plantation and would be called the 'deserving Irish' by the British. Their intention was not for the murder and mutilation which took place in 1641, a rebellion that irrevocably changed the course of Irish history, and as Thomas Bartlett observed 'an indiscriminate onslaught was neither planned nor sought by those behind the conspiracy'

(Bartlett 2010, p.117). Furthermore, people like Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Philip O'Reilly and Rory Maguire plotted the conspiracy merely as a demonstration against King Charles and the English Parliament. Their primary intention was to force them to retreat from the idea of an invasion of Ireland as 'murder and massacre were the last things they wanted' (Bartlett 2010, p.117). All three were Members of Parliament and they did not call for the destruction of the plantation; in fact, Maguire had acquired land previously owned by Hugh O'Neill. The fault, which resulted in the large-scale murder which followed, was their lack of knowledge of the suffering of their followers. A regime of strict laws and high rents meant that their followers were living a poorer quality of life. What had been meant as a warning shot to the English Parliament became a bloody, complex and multisided war with mass causalities, mutilations and murder. One of the more interesting aspects of the 1641 rebellion from a colonial hybrid perspective was the relationship between the Old Irish and the Old English, an unlikely alliance between two colonial forces, once sworn enemies, but now united by political expediency. Thus, the origins of the 1641 rebellion can be said to propagate in the failure of the English State in Ireland to assimilate the native Irish elite in the aftermath of the Elizabethan conquest and plantation of the country.

The pre-Elizabethan Irish population is usually divided into the Old Irish (Gaelic) and the Old English, who would have been descendants of medieval Norman settlers. These groups were historically violent and aggressive towards each other. The Old English settled in areas such as the Pale around Dublin, south Wexford, and other walled towns, which were fortified against the rural Old Irish. By the seventeenth century, the cultural divide between the two groups at elite social levels was declining rapidly. Many Old English lords spoke the Irish language, adopted Irish customs and dress, extensively patronised Irish poetry and music, and have been described as *Níos Gaelaí ná na Gaeil féin* (more Irish than the Irish themselves), a

phrase used in Irish historiography to describe a phenomenon of cultural assimilation in late medieval Norman Ireland. Intermarriage between the two groups became common. Moreover, in the wake of the Elizabethan conquest, the native population became defined by their shared religion, Roman Catholicism, as distinct from the new Church of England and Church of Scotland of settlers, and the officially Protestant (Church of Ireland) English administration in Ireland. This cultural assimilation is consistent with Bhabha's work, whose contention it is that within the 'third space of enunciation' that the colonised and the coloniser are transformed. For Bhabha, this also means that the colonial subject is located in a place of hybridity, its identity formed in a space of iteration and translation by the coloniser. Bhabha emphasises that:

> the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, for instance, do not simply or singly refer to a 'person'… or to a discrimination between mother culture and alien culture…the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation.

(Bhabha 2004, p.132)

The 1641 legal depositions demonstrate how the eyewitness accounts to some of the murder and massacre display Gothic and colonial hybridity. However, it has to be taken into consideration that these depositions occurred during a time of trauma and the effect this would have had on testimony taken in the aftermath of the rebellion. Equally, they highlight how colonisers often took on the beliefs and superstitions that would normally be associated with the colonised, as the British Empire had always presented its spreading of Christianity as the purpose of its colonial mission. But as Bhabha contends, the changes that occur as a result of colonisation are not exclusively evident in the colonised culture, the people being colonised, but also within the coloniser's culture.

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Signs and Wonders

The 1641 legal depositions digitised by Trinity College Dublin are a valuable research source for primary material relating to the Irish rebellion of 1641, providing an insight into both the events of the time and the aftermath of the violence and upheaval which swept across the country. The political biases and prejudices of the eyewitness accounts of the mostly Protestant witnesses must be taken into account when analysing the 1641 depositions. Accounts put the number of murdered Protestants at two-hundred thousand, despite the fact that there were not two-hundred thousand Protestants in Ireland at the time. The graphic images used to portray the rebellion in England are propagandistic in that they portray how uncivilised the Irish were, how Other they were, roasting innocent children on spits while their parents watched, or bashing the heads of young children as the images below display:

Figure 1. Roasted on spittes before their parents faces. Source: British Library Online.

Figure 2. Dashing the children's brains... Source British Library Online.

The authenticity of these accounts have been seen for what they were, an effort to persuade people that stricter security measures were needed in Ireland. An idea being contemplated in the English Parliament long before the rebellion began was now reinforced by both public and political support, as images of Protestant children being roasted on spits by the savage Irish gained traction in the mind of the British public. However, what is just as interesting as the veracity, or lack thereof, of the depositions, is the way in which the Protestants decided to tell their eyewitness accounts using Gothic tropes, and, more importantly, using the supernatural ghostly superstitions that Protestant leaders and colonial propagandists so often used to describe the uncivilised Irish with their strange religious rituals and superstitions. This inherent belief that other cultures, societies and histories were inferior and would only be enhanced by the introduction and acceptance of a civilised and morally superior culture is highlighted by Young:

> Colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves (despite having done so perfectly well for millennia) and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (today they are deemed to require 'development'). The basis of such anthropological

theories was the concept of race. In simple terms, the west-non-west relation was thought of in terms of whites versus the non-white races. White culture was regarded (and remains) the basis for ideas of legitimate government, law, economics, science, language, music, art, literature - in a word, civilization.

(Young 2003, pp 2-3)

There are over eight thousand depositions, amounting to over nineteen thousand pages and bound in thirty-one volumes, in the Manuscripts and Archives Research Library of Trinity College. In 1741, the 1641 Depositions were gifted by Bishop John Sterne to the Library of Trinity College Dublin. They are difficult to read (some are virtually illegible), the spelling is inconsistent and erratic, as is the use of grammar and punctuation, and there is a wide variety of handwriting. Eleven volumes contain depositions relating to Leinster, ten to Munster, two to Connacht and eight to Ulster. Trinity College Dublin has made this a valuable research tool accessible by digitising the 1641 legal depositions in a very fastidious and academic manner. They have created a search function that allows the user to search by name, surname, county, and freetext, which permits the user to scan across the entire database of depositions. An overview of the main categories on the website attempts to break the depositions into main categories, and it is here that Gothic elements first become apparent within the depositions. One category entitled, *Signs and Wonders*, contains depositions that describe apparitions, prophecies and ghosts. For instance, one reads about natural phenomena such as fish dying in rivers after a massacre, which was often seen as a punishment for the rebels who drowned or disposed of bodies in the rivers. The depositions note how for years after the violence there were no fish, as the deposition of Thomas Smith and Joana Killin state that in Belturbet, County Offaly 'after the tyme of the Drowning of Beltur of the said protestants at Belturbett bridge There could not any fish be gotten in that River where formerly there had bin great plenty seene and caught at all tymes of the yeare' (Smith, Killin 1644).

An *Apostasy* category highlights the abandonment or renunciation of one's religious faith, phrases commonly used 'turned to mass' or 'turned Papist'; people are referred to as apostates, which can be seen in the deposition of John Hibbetts. The depositions describe Protestants being forced to convert to Catholicism by Irish rebels performing crude, makeshift Bible-swearing presentations and forcing Protestant victims to recite Catholic prayers. The destruction or damage of religious property or symbols, such as churches and Bibles, are also apparent. The digging up of graves, the burning of Bibles and even witchcraft become living, breathing Gothic tropes which can be seen as symbolic of the religious conflict taking place in colonial Ireland. One of the more disturbing elements of the depositions is the numerous accounts of pregnant women being murdered, with a focus on the removal of the unborn children before both mother and child were murdered and often thrown into rivers so their bodies were washed away. Gothic elements find their way into these particular accounts too, children ripped from the womb of their mothers are given unusually Gothic elements such as waving goodbye to people as they were carried down the river. The authenticity of these depositions has been questioned, and indeed, many scholars struggle to find any evidence for some of the more horrendous accounts of the 1641 rebellion. There can be no doubting the violence and loss of life inflicted on both sides during this bloody rebellion, none more so than the Protestant colonisers who had, arguably, been integrated into the native Irish community only to be thrust into a violent rebellion with little to no warning. Indeed, it could be argued that so well integrated into the Irish community were these Protestants that it was unlikely that the darker, more bloody elements of the depositions were inflicted on them by what were literally their neighbours and, without doubt, friends. However, the purpose of this thesis is not to examine the nature of truth and propaganda, but to focus less on what they are saying and more on the manner in which the people giving the depositions chose to tell their accounts.

Such a focus provides an avenue to explore a colonial Gothic hybridity which demonstrates how the colonial Protestants had hybridised with the colonised Irish Catholics.

Elizabeth Price exhibits this colonial Gothic hybridity when she alleges to have seen a ghostly apparition take the shape of a woman in a river where a number of innocent Protestants, many of them pregnant women, were allegedly beaten, had their clothes and any valuables stolen before being thrown into a river to drown. It was at the sight of the alleged incident that 'there appeared vnto them a vision or spiritt assumeing the shape of a woman waste highe vpright in the water naked with elevated & closed handes, her haire disheivelled very white, her eyes seeming to twinckle in her head, and her skinn as white as snowe which spiritt or vision seeming to stand straight vpright in the water divulged and often repeated the word Revenge Revenge Revenge' (Price 1643). According to Bhabha, cultural identity is not created in the problematic binary conventions of ethnicity (us/them, familiar/foreign); rather, it is in 'the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of spheres of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, p.2). In this deposition Price elicits Bhabha's definition of the emergence of colonial hybridity, she mimics the superstitious, uncivilised myths and beliefs that the coloniser attributes to the colonised as a characteristic that needs to be removed by the civilised colonial force. It is the coloniser not the colonised who is communicating with the spirits of the dead.

In the Price deposition, the spirit is female and emerges from the water; however, the more notable aspects of the Price deposition are the binaries that Price uses when she describes the effects of Catholic/Protestant and English/Latin on the female spirit. Price describes how a Catholic priest was sent for in order to speak with the apparition, but when the Priest 'asked questions both in English and Latin [but] it answererd them nothing' (Price 1643). A few

nights later the spirit appeared in the same part of the river and a Protestant minister was brought to speak to the vision and the Protestant minister asked 'in the name of the father, the sonne and the holy ghost what wouldest thou have, or for what standest thou there: It answered Revenge, Revenge, very many times iterating the word Revenge' (Price 1643). In Bhabha's essay 'Of Mimicry and Man', he examines how mimicry is a metonym of presence. It emerges from the colonist's need to envision an acceptable, recognisable Other that is the same but different. And just as Bhabha states that colonial mimicry must produce its excess and its slippage, Price displays her slippage with the spirits of the dead Protestants calling for revenge from beyond the grave. Having been in the centre of Bhabha's overlapping spheres of difference due to being a British coloniser in Ireland, where she has been an active participant in two separate cultures, Price now demonstrates her own colonial hybridity by creating a third hybrid space. Price's deposition contains both the uncivilised superstition of the colonised and the violent calls of revenge for the dead Protestants that are the colonial response to the 1641 rebellion.

Bhabha's colonial theory is heavily influenced by post-structuralism. Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan's psychoanalysis have all heavily contributed to Bhabha's work and Lacan, in particular, features heavily in *The Location of Culture*. Bhabha opens his 'Of Mimicry and Man' with a quote from Lacan who asserts that 'the effect of mimicry is camouflage...it is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background' (Bhabha 2004, p.121). Lacan's theories on mimicry become the foundations for Bhabha's research on colonial mimicry and colonial hybridity. Lacan's work on *The Mirror Stage* argues that from the age of six months a child recognises its own reflection in a mirror at a stage in its development where Lacan states that the child is outdone 'by the chimpanzee in instrumental intelligence' (Lacan 2001, p.10), when the chimpanzee is at the same phase of

development. For Lacan, this recognition of self at an infant stage, when the child is still dependent on nursing and still lacking the motor development to support itself, exhibits a critical moment: 'In which the 'I' is precipitated in a primordial form, before it is objectified in the dialectic of identification with the other, and before language restores to it, in the universal, its function as subject' (Lacan 2001, p.2). The child sees its image as a whole, but this contrasts with the lack of coordination of the body, leading the child to perceive a fragmented body, leaving the mirror stage to create tension between it and the mirror image.

This fragmentation, when applied to the colonial setting of the 1641 depositions, highlights how the depositions, especially concerning the Gothic supernatural elements, display psychological neuroses and prejudices through mimicry, and these phobias and neuroses are 'designed to camouflage, displace, deny, divide, and muffle aggressive intentions' (Lacan 2001, p.88). It is this fragmented effect which can be seen in the depositions, whereby, the coloniser projects their trauma, tension and anger towards the Irish rebels on to a spirit which gives voice to the coloniser. This fragmentation can be seen in the supernatural event described in the deposition of Alice Gregg, once again describing spirits and supernatural phenomena occurring near water, and containing the same wording of Price's deposition as the sprits of slain Protestants demand revenge. Gregg's deposition describes spirits of the slain taking the shape of men and women in a lough, and stood 'boult vppright in the water which incessantly cryed out revenge, revenge' (Gregg 1643). Here Bhabha's theories on mimicry highlighting how the colonised turns the colonial gaze back on the coloniser can be seen within the depositions. Bhabha uses Lacan's concept of mimicry as a form of camouflage for the colonised, while also writing of the coloniser producing a mimetic representation that emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge (Bhabha 2004). James Shawe describes in his deposition that people who lived near a bridge in

Portadown, County Armagh 'were soe affrighted with the cryes & noise made there of some spiritts or visions for Revenge, that they durst not stay but fledd away' (Shawe 1643). Bhabha states that mimicry is 'constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference' (Bhabha 2004, p.86). The depositions of Shawe, Gregg and Price all demonstrate this slippage, excess and difference. These people were the descendants of a group of colonisers who having been abandoned by the people who placed them there became more Irish than the Irish themselves. And here they demonstrate the emergence of a colonial hybridity that adopts the superstitious beliefs that were the marks of an uncivilised society in the eyes of the conquering colonisers, while defending the dead Protestants by using the spirits of the dead people to call for vengeance. It is this overlapping of their spheres of difference that indicate their hybridity.

Freud's theories on language, especially on the use of wit, provide a parallel with Darwin's theories on mimicry as a form of defence from a predator. Freud's hypothesis on parapraxes and humour conceptualised speech errors as discrepancies between what a speaker intended to say, and what he or she actually said, indicating that the intention was unconscious and prevented from being expressed accurately due to intrapsychic conflict. In the Price deposition, it is evident that what Price wants to say is projected onto the spirit to demonstrate what she wanted to say but felt she could not. It is not just what the spirit says but the person to whom the spirit speaks that reflects the coloniser's psychological state of mind, the spirit that appears in the water does not answer the Catholic priest when challenged. It also refuses to recognise Latin. Both the religion and the language became a part of the process of ambivalence, which in order to be effective 'must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference' (Bhabha 2004, p.122). When summoned by a Protestant minister, the water spirit responds with cries of revenge against the Irish rebels. Price's desire for revenge and the differences she

enunciates between the Catholic and Protestant religions are inverted as the coloniser's desire produces what Bhabha describes as a partial vison of the coloniser's presence. Price is both colonised and coloniser, she displays the 'split-screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid' (Bhabha 2004, p.163). Bhabha posits the hypothesis that this hybrid invisibility 'eliminates the self-presence of that I' (Bhabha 2004, p.79). And what takes its place is Derrida's ancillary sense of the disembodied evil eye which 'wreaks its revenge by circulating, without being seen. It cuts across the boundaries of master and slave' (Bhabha 2004, p.79).

Freud believed that jokes were a way of expressing sexual or aggressive impulses and easing psychological tension. In his view, jokes served as compromise-formations and are indicative of many of the same fundamental processes characteristic of the unconscious, in that many mental processes can transfer emotional outputs from one pathway to another without any decrease in energy. Wit achieves this by striving for the 'shortest possible expression in order to expose fewer points of attack to the attention' (Brill 2010, p.602), while being easily understood, for as soon as there is 'recourse to mental effort, or a demand for a choice between different mental paths, it imperils the effect, not only through the unavoidable mental expenditure, but also through the awakening of attention' (Brill 2010, p.602). These Freudian compromise-formations are displayed throughout the depositions, as demonstrated in the deposition of Anthony Stephens from County Roscommon, who described the cries of revenge from the spirits of the deceased. And, in similar fashion to the other depositions, these Gothic apparitions haunt lonely, desolate areas where the crimes were committed and always on or near lakes, rivers, streams or loughs 'where such drowneings & cruelties have bin comitted There have bin often heard often the cryes of Revenge Revenge & other gastley strang & formidable expressions by spiritts' (Stephens 1646). This demonstrates how the fundamental processes of the unconscious are expressed in this deposition through the dual lens of Bhabha's

emergence of colonial hybridity and Freud's theory on compromise-formations which facilitate the expression of aggressive impulses to ease psychological tension.

Coincidentally, the word 'lough' has its own hybrid history, as it is Middle English, which comes from the Irish word loch, the spelling of lough survived in Ireland, but the pronunciation was replaced by that of the Irish word. Price reports in her deposition, how the Irish rebels use the Irish language to offer their souls up to the Devil. After murdering a heavily pregnant woman and removing the child from the womb, the rebels flung both bodies into a river. When the rebels captured Protestants and were about to be executed, the rebels were overheard 'hearing in Irish words answered and said Cuir do anim in diouall, which in English is Give or bequeath thy soule to the Divell, And at other tymes would say to the protestants (vpon their knees, begging with teares, that they might pray before their deaths) Why should yow pray for your soule is with the Divell already' (Price 1643). Price is aware of and understands the Irish language, at least enough to know what the rebels were allegedly saying. But, once again, she turns the gaze of the coloniser on the colonised in a form of disavowal that Bhabha, quoting Freud and his theories on the uncanny, would describe as the same but different. Mimicry becomes a presence which emerges as a 'representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal' (Bhabha 2004, p.122). A trait Price shows throughout her deposition is that she has incorporated native belief, together with cultural and language systems. However, Price shows that, in line with Bhabha's theories on mimicry, this is inherently flawed as 'mimicry is at once resemblance and menace' (Bhabha 2004, p.123). While Price displays cultural hybridity, she also calls for revenge against the Irish rebels. In this manner, the depositions are complying with the roles and ideology expected by a colonial society. The depositions position themselves to blend in and camouflage using the language and beliefs of what is considered an uncivilised society in order to portray Ireland as a place of savagery and violence to the English

Parliament and general public in London. These records ally with Bhabha's hypothesis that mimicry turns the colonial gaze back onto the coloniser in a sign of disavowal, but in this particular case it is the colonisers disavowing the colonised.

The Stephens deposition uses the word 'Lough,' the Middle English spelling. This is similar to the way in which the Irish word for fairy *sìdhe* became Anglicised into the English word, fairy, a word which denotes the more friendly and poetic English representation of fairies. In Ireland, the fairies still retain the mischievous and malignant characteristic of the *sìdhe*. The hybridity of the English and Irish languages is consistently evident in terms of how Elizabeth Price, James Shawe and Anthony Stephens use the old Irish pagan symbol of water to denote an access point for spirits to leave the Otherworld and enter this world. Even as they use this hybrid vehicle to admonish Irish Catholics and seek revenge, they become symbolic of Bhabha's 'Third Space of Enunciation.' As defined by Bhabha, this is a third space in which a hybrid colonised and coloniser are in a 'process of miscognition where each point of identification is always a partial and double representation of the *otherness* of the self – democrat and despot, individual *and* servant, native and child' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, p.139). Bhabha's theories on the Other observe how the Other is never outside or beyond but originates from cultural discourse. In the Irish context, Gladwin describes how ghosts are hauntings of violence and decay, that these spirits become a symbol of traumatic repression in times of trauma and crisis, especially due to the 'collapsing of time' (Gladwin 2016, p.103). During times of extreme violence, the visions of ghosts result from a hybrid space of a conscious/subconscious binary where 'ghosts of unresolved pasts…grapple with the social and political confrontations from which these spectres emerge' (Gladwin 2016, p.103). The depositions, therefore, display a colonial hybridity that can be refracted through the theoretical works of Bhabha and Young on their specific theories on the multifaceted nature of hybridity

and the relationship between coloniser and colonised. The depositions demonstrate how these overlapping collective experiences become a hybrid mixture of cultural differences. However, they are never simply colonised and coloniser, but a fluctuating paradigm incorporating a series of different concepts of nation and identity which become the foundations of culture.

Freud's Archaic Underworld of the Self

Notable aspects of the depositions are their uncanny nature and the way in which they seem to invoke a sense of 'in-betweenness' that becomes apparent as the binary between living/dead dissolves, and the dead speak to the living demanding revenge be taken on the living who have harmed them. These instances of the dead communicating with the living correspond to Bhabha's theories on rumour and panic, and how they create double sites of enunciation, as well as resonating with Freud's theories on the uncanny, where something familiar becomes unfamiliar. Freud's theories on the uncanny, or in German the *Unheimlich,* which translates as the unfamiliar, states that the uncanny is a result of events, desires and fears which have been repressed or forgotten but still exist in the subconscious. Freud argues that this repression would be re-presented in forms which are 'seemingly external, repellent, and unfamiliar forms' (Hogle 2002, p.6). Indeed, in a resonant comment in an interview with Frank Schulze-Engler, Pavan Kumar Malreddy and John Njenga Karugia, Bhabha notes that while memory can be repressed and even disavowed, it cannot be forgotten 'because the play of memory is iterative and interruptive' (Bhabha 2018, p.710). In *The Uncanny*, Freud provides a theoretical perspective on how the familiar becomes unfamiliar. Freud proposed that the feeling of the uncanny is an old animistic view from when primitive people believed the world was filled with human spirits. Thus, when one sees something which we feel is uncanny, it is, in fact, a residual effect left over from the animistic phase of human development (Freud 2013).

Freud advocates that this replacement of inanimate objects with something animate is linked to the ancient animistic view of the world, when primitive people believed that it was populated with human spirits which placed magic and power onto inanimate objects. This stage of human development left behind a residue, so that when anything we find uncanny meets the criterion 'it is linked with these remnants of animistic mental activity and prompts them to express themselves' (Freud 2003, p.147). Freud asserts that if psychoanalytic theory is correct, and negative experiences are converted into fear and repressed, then this feeling of uncanny signals that the 'frightening element is something that has been repressed and now returns' (Freud 2003, p.147). This is demonstrated in the 1641 depositions by the dead returning to seek vengeance on the living. This hybrid state of the dead talking to the living highlights the pertinence of Freud's theory - that people exist in an in-between state - to our discussion of the depositions. The depositions demonstrate how the negative experience was repressed and then returned, and with this the frightening elements of the spirits of the dead return asking the living to seek vengeance, signifying that what has been repressed has now returned.

This is evident in the legal depositions which have many varied and multifaceted Gothic elements within them. None more so than the depositions that describe, sometimes in graphic detail, the ripping of unborn children from the wombs of their mothers by Irish rebels. Some like John Powell describe a detailed and horrific attack:

> He used his skeane to ripp vp the womb of the said boys mother (soe with child Soe as the child wherewith she was great fell out from the place of its conception, And then all the rest of those English being before named being murthered dead & stript naked those savage & barbarous Rebells in a shameles & imodest manner Layd them all soe murthered both men & women some vpon their backs some on their bellies exposeing them to open view & soe left them there vnburied Howbeit not long after others more mercifull

then they) buried them all in a hole or ditch together, Where afterwards (by report) the swyne or doggs easily uncouering them fed vpon som of their flesh.

(Powell 1645)

For Hogle, the most obvious example of Gothic in-betweenness is the moment of birth at which we 'are both inside and outside the mother and thus both alive and not yet in existence (in that sense *dead*)' [italics in original] (Hogle 2002, p.7). This in-between state is demonstrated in the depositions that describe the attacks on pregnant women by the Irish rebels, as in the deposition of Edward Bishop who described how 'some of the mothers being hanged & their children hanging at or nere their brestes. And by credible report one child there fell or dropt out of the wombe of the mother, whilest she was in hanging verte' (Bishop 1643). This primal origin is one which we throw off or cast into the role of the Gothic trope, whether it is Stoker's *Dracula* or Edgar Allan Poe's tell-tale heartbeat, they are all part of the process of abjection that 'lies at the base of our beings' (Hogle 2002, p.7). Just like the Price deposition or the Anthony Stephens deposition, there is a repetitive use of supernatural events, which either directly call for vengeance or create images that evoke sympathy for those killed and anger towards those who allegedly committed these crimes. For Bhabha, this circulation of rumour also passes on the 'contagion of rumour and panic into their own serial, sensitive narratives that become unsettled in that very act of repetition' (Bhabha 2004, p.289). In addition, he maintains that this treatment of rumour produces a contagious ambivalence which has 'too much meaning and a certain meaninglessness' (Bhabha 2004, p.289).

In *Powers of Horror* (1982), Julia Kristeva examines this in-between state through the use of abjection, taking the literal meaning of the word to mean: throw off and reject. Kristeva argues her theory of abjection through the use of food, and human and animal faeces, bodily fluids such as blood, bile and vomit, and the process of human rejection and the physical

symptoms which force people to reject these symbols of uncleanliness. Kristeva suggests that evolution has taught us to reject this at a very basic level, as being around or near these symbols of uncleanliness increases the chances of sickness. Therefore, abjection creates the strong impulses that form part of a physical and psychological resistance, which is an important part of the physical and psychological well-being of any subject. However, Kristeva states that the process of abjection is not caused by ill-health, either physical or psychological, but by any attempt to tamper with a system of identity and order: 'It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite' (Kristeva 1982, p.4). Kristeva uses the example of a corpse as part of her theory on abjection, and states that the natural repulsion that people feel towards seeing a corpse is an evolutionary reaction. Being around a corpse can be unhealthy; Kristeva, however, argues that psychologically there is also a reaction as the corpse resides in an in-between state, it was once alive and is now dead, and yet, it is still here, still present and yet absent, what was once a living, breathing subject is now an inanimate object. Kristeva states that the corpse is the ultimate symbol of abjection: 'The corpse, seen without God and outside of science, is the utmost of abjection. It is death infecting life. Abject' (Kristeva 1982, p.4).

There are accounts of Irish rebels digging up the bodies of the dead and desecrating the corpses, as the deposition of Ambrose Bedell displays when he describes how 'the said Sir James Craige knight that long had manteined Castle Croghan being buried in the Church of Killisandra his corps were taken vp out of the grave by the Rebells and cutt in peecs' (Bedell 1642). The in-between state is on display here as Irish rebels allegedly dig up a corpse and defile it, the very act of which indicates a sense of being able to cause harm or exact violence on a corpse. Here the binaries Kristeva discusses of being present but absent are apparent as

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the defiling of the corpse becomes symbolic. Kristeva's theory consists of two separate but interconnected components, the symbolic and the semiotic. Kristeva, however, isolates the semiotic from the school of thought established by Ferdinand de Saussure. Kristeva states, crediting both Freud and Joyce, that the semiotic is in the 'pre-Oedipal [-predating the father]' (Kristeva 1980, p.157) phase of development and before Lacan's pre-mirror stage. Kristeva argues that this abjection is not a 'definable object' (Kristeva 1982, p.1), in the same manner that Freud's triumvirate of the human mind, the ego, superego and id are not physical locations in the human brain but rather a state of being in the mind itself.

It is this hybrid state that is demonstrated in the depositions. The accounts of unborn babies being ripped from the wombs of their mother also correlates with Bhabha's essay on violence in the mid-nineteenth century, *By Bread Alone*. In this essay, Bhabha examines how the concepts of rumour and panic during times of political and colonial violence become 'moments of social crises, double sites of enunciation that weave their stories around the disjunctive 'present' or the 'not there' of discourse' (Bhabha 2004, p.286). When discussing the recent migrant crisis, Bhabha states that anxiety acts as a double-mimesis in that it is 'a temporality of expectation' (Bhabha 2018, p.710). He claims that within that double-mimesis exists an anticipative structure and within this structure is the 'anticipation of destruction and "death" – social, moral, economic, political' (Bhabha 2018, p.710). In the depositions, this Gothic abjection of in-between and colonial hybridity form a display of repressed subconscious fears and desires at a time of sudden and unexpected violence and trauma. This, then, results in these depositions becoming a sign of the colonists' own abjection being projected onto the Irish rebels as the signifier and signified becomes recontextualised, whereby the abjection, fear and hybridity normally reserved for the colonised is visited upon the colonists themselves. Other depositions contain various attacks from different depositions and create a more supernatural

and chilling Gothic effect as the unborn and dying child appears to wave to the people witnessing his death: 'Katherin his wife, & she being bigg with child, one of the said Phillipp o Dwires men (after she was knocked downe) with his skine ripped vp her belly, & the childs hand first came out, & moued it too & froe before his life parted' (Abstract of Certain Murders 1645). Now the carriers of civilisation, law and order, agriculture and even God himself have retreated to the superstitious and supernatural beliefs of the natives previously rejected as savage and uncivilised by the invading colonists. And it is the Gothic form of writing which provides this outlet as 'no other form of writing or theatre is an insistent as Gothic on juxtaposing potential revolution and possible reaction – about gender, sexuality, race, class, the colonizers versus the colonized, the physical versus the metaphysical, and abnormal versus normal psychology' (Hogle 2002, p.13). The depositions present this Freudian hybrid consciousness where the 'indeterminate circulation of meaning as rumour or conspiracy, with its perverse, psychic affects of panic, constitutes the intersubjective realm of revolt and resistance' (Bhabha 2004, p.287).

Bogs and Bibles

One of the aspects of the depositions that lends itself to the postcolonial Gothic is the nature of bogs, which is a hybrid word in itself, as the word 'bog' is derived from the Irish word *bogach*. In the depositions, bogs act as Gothicised sites of murder and mutilation, as the deposition of Mary Twyford illustrates: 'many strange crueltyes wer committed by the Rebells of the said partes, as drowning of six & twelue women att one tyme in boghooles chopping off of heads of the protestant English' (Twyford 1642). But, equally, bogs are referred to in terms that encode them as a sanctuary for those fleeing violence, as the deposition of John McNeill highlights when he describes how he 'escaped to a little bogg' (McNeill 1653). Furthermore,

the deposition of John Macgawly describes how one Irish rebel used the bog as a means of security when he describes how 'william fled to the bogs for feare of the English army' (Macgawly 1642). It is Gladwin's contention that Irish bogs are more than a contested and Gothic site, but are a Third space which helps to create a 'multifocal space that disturbs the accepted norms of temporality' (Gladwin 2016, p.53). Bogs have featured prominently in Irish history, literature, art and theatre, to such an extent that authors like Patrick McCabe, Barrie Cooke, and Marina Carr have contributed to what would be dubbed Bog Gothic, as the bog took on an often-malevolent life force of its own. Indeed, the battles described in the depositions of 1641 would stretch from the 17th Century into the 20th Century.

The bogs in the depositions demonstrate how Irish bogs became weaponised during times of violence. Irish rebels were familiar with the dangerous terrain, and during night raids this held a distinct advantage for the Irish. Indeed, the depositions show many examples of Protestants attempting to use the bogs to hide from Irish rebels. However, the Irish rebels appear to have shown a better understanding of the bogs than their British counterparts. The deposition of Jennett Minnis demonstrates this superior knowledge when she describes how she and other Protestants fled into a nearby bog, hoping to hide from the rebels but 'the Irish alighting, pursued them on foote & hurt the said Nicholas, & tooke her, & the said Paul Gault & Archy Craig prisoners' (Minnis 1653). James Sheylds describes how bogs were not a serendipitous method of disposing of the bodies but that Irish rebels forced two English soldiers they had abducted to walk a half a mile towards a bog and without mercy 'traitcherously Murdered the two souldyers' (James Sheylds 1653). Christian Stanhawe and Owen Frankland describe how victims were thrown into a bog pit where some of them attempted to swim towards safety only for the 'Rebells with their musketts knockt out their braynes' (Stanhawe, Frankland 1642).

In the depositions, the bog is used as a weapon, whether it is being used to take life in the case of drowning, or save lives in the situations where people, both Protestants and Rebels, use the bog to hide until the danger has passed. In these respects, the bog becomes a place of liminality during the 1641 rebellion. The bog becomes what Bhabha would describe as a paradigm of colonial anxiety. The central tenet governing the hybridity of colonial identity in relation to its cultural form or status alters the authority of power, recreating the colonial leaders so they become ambivalent through the gaze of disavowal. The bog demonstrates how cultures come to be represented by 'processes of iteration and translation through which their meanings are vicariously addressed to—*through*—an Other. This erases any essentialist claims for the inherent authenticity or purity of cultures which, when inscribed in the naturalistic sign of symbolic consciousness frequently become political arguments for the hierarchy and ascendancy of powerful cultures' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, pp.83-84). This also means that the colonial subject takes place, its subaltern position inscribed, in that space of iteration. The bog is then placed firmly in a place of hybridity. Bhabha emphasizes that:

> the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, for instance, do not simply or singly refer to a 'person'… or to a discrimination between mother culture and alien culture…the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation. (Bhabha 2004, p.159)

Like mimicry, hybridity is a metonymy of presence. Hybridity opens up a space, figuratively speaking, where the construction of a political object that is new, neither the coloniser nor the Other, properly defies political expectations. However, like Bhabha's concept of mimicry, hybridity is a doubling, dissembling image of being in at least two places at once. This turn in the effect of hybridity makes the presence of colonist authority no longer immediately visible.

From this perspective, the bog becomes a figurative and psychological site of camouflage, similar to Darwin's theories in *The Origin of Species* when he notes how 'insects often resemble for the sake of protection various objects, such as green or decayed leaves, dead twigs, bits of lichen, flowers, spines, excrement of birds, and living insects' (Darwin 1859, p.59).

This is a point observed by Gladwin, when he notes how Irish bogs, despite seeming to be lifeless and desolate, and providing difficult terrain on which to survive, do contain a wide variety of insects, invertebrate and plant life which 'changes colour over seasons' (Gladwin 2016, p.30), blending into its surroundings even as the seasons change. This effects a strategic reversal of colonial authority through disavowal, so that colonial power is examined and subverted. Additionally the identity of the coloniser is transformed, as the bog acts like a palimpsest and turns the gaze of the oppressed colonial subject back onto the colonist. Gladwin examines the use of Irish bogs in relation to postcolonial Gothic in Irish history and literature describing how 'the destabilising capacities of the bog provide a space to explore historical colonial tensions and social struggles through the postcolonial Gothic form' (Gladwin 2006, p.4). He notes how the Irish bog has always been a contorted binary of good/bad and danger/safety for the Irish. In Gladwin's estimation, in the view of the British occupiers, the bogs of Ireland were wasteful, and they consistently put forward plans to drain the bogs and make the land more profitable. Yet they simultaneously recognised that the bogs provided the colonised Irish with a measure of security, as William King noted when he observed how the Irish build their home near bogs as 'it was an advantage to them to have their country unpassable' (Gladwin 2016, p.44). In fact, as Gladwin further details, bogs are mentioned in the third chapter of *Topographia Hibernia* (1185) in relation to security and defence when it describes how the Irish have no time for castles as a form of defence as they make the woods 'their stronghold, and the bogs their trenches' (Gladwin 2016, p.41).

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Bogs fulfilled a role as a form of defence, with their water filled bog pits, their sudden movement when swollen from rain and eerie lights that take on an otherworldly dimension. Bogs, however, were of economic benefit, as turf could be cut from the bog and used as fuel for a fire to heat a home, cook food or boil water, a practice still maintained in 21st Century Ireland, even with the economic presence of other fuels such as oil and coal (Gladwin 2016, pp. 40-41). Bogs also remain an important source for archaeologists as the chemical process involved in bogs preserves bodies and objects like cutlery, food, weapons and tools for thousands of years, providing the present with an important insight into the past as well as helping to place the development of tools and weapons within a specific timeline. In this sense, bogs are zones of the 'ephemeral and repositories of culture and history where the past can be recovered as a reminder of colonial encounters' (Gladwin 2016, p.23). The bog also contains an element of Irish folklore and superstition as its chemical and vegetative qualities lend it 'eerie atmospherics' (Gladwin 2016, p.38), which result in Irish superstitions like the Pooka or, in Irish, the Púca, said to exist as spirit guides in Irish bogs. The Púca is divided into two categories, one is malignant and causes harm, while the other is a friendly spirit known to help and guide people lost in bogs to a place of safety. This is much like the hybrid version of the Anglicised word 'fairy', which denotes playfulness and cordial creatures but in Irish folklore a fairy was known as a *sìdhe* and has a more malevolent and often destructive nature. The Púca is a shapeshifter which can take the form of animal or human. Within Irish folklore, there is also what is known as a Bog Sprite, a flickering light in unoccupied areas of the bog which lure people to their deaths. The lights are a result of various gases which exist beneath the bog and aid in decomposition, two of the gases are methane and phosphine, both flammable gases which often spontaneously combust on the surface of bogs when exposed to oxygen.

The bog also contains a number of carnivorous plants including the Sundew which has two-

hundred 'pin-shaped red tentacles…that respond immediately to touch' (Gladwin 2016, p.40).

Like Bhabha's Third Space of Enunciation, Gladwin positions the bog as a hybrid space which touches on many complex and conflictual notions of Irish identity, culture and history. The bog is legible as a Gothicised site of repressed trauma which offers both security and danger, as well as a cultural symbol of folklore and superstition, and a reminder of both tradition and modernity. Even today, Irish bogs remain a controversial and contested site as they are protected by often controversial European Union laws which seek to reduce the industry of cutting Irish bogs for turf and protect bog areas for environmental and economic reasons. This is an asymmetrical stance to the position of the British during colonisation who desired to drain bogs in order to increase more agricultural and therefore more economical viable land. From this standpoint, Gladwin highlights a number of British reports and surveys into Ireland's bogs including Gerard Boate's *Irelands Naturall History* (1652), William King's paper entitled *Of the Bogs and Loughs of Ireland* and a survey completed by various engineers entitled *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Nature and Extent of Several Bogs in Ireland: and the Practicability of Draining and Cultivating them* (1810). Given a hybrid reading, the Irish bogs during the rebellion of 1641 represent an ambivalent turn of the colonial subject into a symbol of colonial anxiety, which complements Bhabha's theories of 'paranoid classification—a disturbing questioning of the images and presences of authority' (Bhabha 2004, p.162). The hybrid bog retains the physical semblance of the authoritative symbol, but its presence is reformed by the Irish rebels, thus, aligning with Bhabha's contention that it is denied as the signifier of disfigurement after the intervention of difference.

According to Bhabha, one of the effects of colonial hybridity is mimicry. Bhabha posits the theory that the colonial metonymy of presence supports the authoritarian voyeurism. However, as discrimination turns into the assertion of the hybrid, the sign of authority becomes a mask,

a mockery, and this is demonstrated in another aspect of the depositions where signs of burning Bibles, apostasy, removal of bodies from graves and accusations of forced blasphemy, conversions and religious related punishments are rife within the depositions. The burning, theft and desecration of Bibles by Irish rebels is a common feature of the depositions, as Morgan Couraghie's deposition demonstrates how Irish rebels pursued certain English Protestants and a minister and 'robbed them and tooke the bible of the minister' (Couraghie 1642). Perhaps, more interesting and malicious is the allegation in the Couraghie deposition that an Irish rebel called 'Cahell McKnogher Subsherriff one nighte strippt & robbed this deponents howse and tould him That he must goe to Masse and all must be of one Religion and if he refused then he must be pistolld & shott' (Couraghie 1642). Henry Ffisher describes the burning of Bibles by several Irish rebels who 'burnd vp the pues pulpittes chestes and bibles belonging to the said Church with extreem violence and trivmph & expression of hatred to religion' (Ffisher 1642). The ripping and tearing up of Bibles is another common expression of religious intolerance within the depositions, as Elizabeth Hooper witnessed Irish rebels 'teareing the singeing Psalmes out of this deponents Bible' (Hooper 1643).

Unlike previous depositions whereby the spirits of dead Protestants calling for revenge were similar, in some cases appearing almost like facsimile accounts from different people in different parts of Ireland, the manner in which Bibles were desecrated varies greatly, as the deposition of John Parrie highlights, when he describes how Irish rebels held Protestants hostage 'and after stripping them layd the sacred bible on their privy parts of some of them in contempt of the same, as William Doolin whoe a (as he told this deponent) was an Eye witnesse informed him' (Parrie 1642). While Bible burning is the most common method of rejecting the Protestant religion, there are accounts of Irish rebels digging up bodies of the dead and defiling the remains as the deposition of Ambrose Bedell displays. He described how 'the said Sir James

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Craige knight that long had manteined Castle Croghan being buried in the Church of Killisandra his corps were taken vp out of the grave by the Rebells and cutt in peecs And they after they had taken away his Coffin and sheete & had soe hact and mangled him they threw his mangled bodie into the grave againe' (Bedell 1642).

In 'Signs Taken for Wonders', Bhabha examines several key moments of repetition or mimicry in colonial literature all of which result in the 'sudden, fortuitous discovery of the English book' (Bhabha 2004, p.144). Bhabha compares and contrasts the character, Marlow, from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, who discovers a book called *Inquiry into some Points of Seamanship* by an author whose name Marlow cannot correctly remember but he thinks might be Towser or Towson, and a scene from V.S. Naipaul's *The Return of Eva Peron,* in which a young Trinidadian discovers and reads the same passage from Conrad's novel. Bhabha states that these passages demonstrate how the English book, the Bible mainly, is a symbol of colonial rule and power. The English book 'figures those ideological correlatives of the Western sign–empiricism, idealism, mimeticism, monoculturalism (to use Edward Said's term) that sustain a tradition of English 'cultural' authority' (Bhabha 2004, p.150). Bhabha contends that the English book is an emblem of the obduracy of colonial power, along with its circumlocutory capacity to narrate and subsequently propagate an intermutually European cultural philosophy. However, Bhabha continues to state that his argument is not the unified colonial power, desire and discipline of the English book's cultural heritage. Indeed, it is the opposite view that he puts forward, that the English book is a symbol of colonial ambivalence, which suggests that the 'fetishized colonial culture is potentially and strategically an insurgent counter-appeal' (Bhabha 2004, pp.129-130). Bhabha argues that the English book subverts the authority and fixity of colonial authority that it is supposed to uphold as self-evident and this subversion, this slippage and excess of colonial power grants the colonised subject a mode of

disavowal and resistance against a more powerful and imperial colonial oppression. Thus, by manipulating not only language, but religion as well, the colonised is able to gain power, and this can be seen in the depositions as Irish rebels burn and desecrate the Bible. The English Bible unwittingly becomes an agent of ambivalence and hybridisation.

The English Bible was originally a distinct and direct product of its culture, however, in its original context, the Bible was a direct product of its culture. But in the colonial context the Bible becomes an emblem of God, faith and religion, a moral code to abide by and lend legitimacy to the colonial project so as to avoid any allegation of colonialism being solely driven by economic reasons. However, it is the coloniser who is in charge of the book, it is their book, their God, their religion, faith and moral code which is being disseminated. They are in charge of how it is communicated and to whom it is communicated. Its initial meaning begins to change as it undergoes 'an *Entstellung*, a process of displacement, distortion, dislocation, repetition' (Bhabha 2004, p.149). The Bible paradoxically becomes an ambivalent object of hybridity, no longer an unadulterated sign of colonial power that worships the colonial supremacy, but a hybrid symbol of colonial ambivalence that defines and subverts the mimetic weakness of colonial power and authority.

According to Bhabha, colonial authority has unintended effects because the oppressed groups appropriate colonial ideas and concepts, and transform them according to their own native culture. The English Bible was meant to introduce the concept of one God, one faith and one religion to the savage, superstitious Irish natives. This was the standard impetus when ethical issues began to be voiced in London. However, as the depositions show, the Irish take this policy and subvert it by desecrating the English Bibles in a variety of ways, and resorting to declarations of Ireland as having only one God and one religion: a Catholic one. It is a subversion that Bhabha states is almost inevitable when the English Bible starts to lose its

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original meaning. In this case the idea of it being the correct religion, the civilised religion as opposed to the superstitious non-British religion of the native Irish as it becomes not just re-written as Bhabha states in 'Signs Taken For Wonders', but the English Bible is rejected outright and destroyed. As Karl Marx eloquently states in his essay *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

> The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language. (Marx, Chapter 1, 1852, available: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm)

This hybridised present is not confined to the here and now, it is a much more elastic concept, as is demonstrated in the previously mentioned deposition of Ambrose Bedell, when he describes how the Irish rebels literally dug up the past when they dug up the grave of a Knight and mutilated his remains. Just as Bhabha theorises that the English book is an entirely different book once it loses something, and in recognition of the fact that the English book becomes re-written by the natives thorough the diachronic and synchronic lens of the natives' own indigenous culture, customs, rituals and beliefs, the Bible in the depositions is altered so that sign and symbol becomes re-contextualised within the colonial setting.

It is also notable within the depositions that many describe Protestants who had turned Papist, often under duress or to avoid a violent death, one would imagine, as in the deposition of Richard Sollace who claims that 'Henry Jefford & Patrick Nugent formerly English protestants are lately turned papists' (Sollace 1642). Ffrances Coocke states that not only did people convert to Catholicism but became rebels in the fight against the colonisers: 'John Roch

aforesaid heretofore a reputed Protestant, & now turn'd Papist & Rebell' (Coocke 1642). Edward Beecher confirms the repeated acts of apostasy within the depositions 'he also sayth that one Tho: May nere Rosse Carbry gen: late lately a reputed Protestant, & is now since this rebellion turned Papists' (Beecher 1642). In the same manner that Bakhtin describes polyglossia as language itself only becoming visible in the mirror of an opposing language, arguing that 'languages throw light on each other: one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language' (Bakhtin 1981, p.12), the hybrid Bible of the Irish rebels is a subverted reflection of the colonial symbol of power, desire and discipline. And just as Bakhtin examines hybridity in language and finds that the polyglot is 'more ancient than pure, canonic monoglossia' (Bakhtin 1981, p.12), hybridity and the mimicry that it produces is an ancient psychological and effective form of resistance against an oppressive force. It is the contention of this thesis that there exists a labile hybridity, inhabiting the spaces between oppression and resistance, the spaces between colonisation and patriarchy. The English Bible and the power of colonial thought and faith is disrupted, with the consequence that this empowers the colonised subject and creates a pathway of hybridised resistance which was previously void, a strategic and subtle subversion through which Bhabha posits that:

> Hybridity is the name of this displacement of value from symbol to sign that causes the dominant discourse to split along the axis of its power to be representative, authoritative. Hybridity represents that ambivalent 'turn' of the discriminated subject into the terrifying, exorbitant object of paranoid classification – a disturbing questioning of the images and presences of authority.
>
> (Bhabha 2004, p.162)

This reverse hybridity is evident in the legal depositions of the 1641 rebellion, Elizabeth Price displays her hybridity in the pagan-infused water spirits which emerge up from the water, a supernatural event repeated by other depositions examined in this chapter. This colonial

hybridity of the coloniser is matched only by the liminal Gothicised site of the Irish bogs, a place of death or sanctuary, for Irish rebels and Protestants alike, the hybrid bogs and the desecration of Bibles by Irish rebels when juxtaposed with the hybrid Gothic supernatural elements of the depositions highlight Bhabha's theory that when coloniser and colonised meet both are transformed in a third hybrid space. This hybridity will be pursued in Chapter Two as Ireland's folklore will demonstrate how Irish fairy folklore and the concept of fairies show how colonial hybridity also exists in folklore. Irish fairies are believed to be a race of supernatural entities belonging to a mythological race called the Tuatha Dé Danann. After various battles with other groups and races, the Tuatha Dé Danann lost the battle to the Milesians. They retreated to what were called *sidhé* or fairy mounds, so fairies are the direct descendants of the Tuatha Dé Danann. Chapter Two will analyse various primary source materials relating to fairies and Irish folklore through a colonial lens, while demonstrating how the hybrid meaning of fairies was lost in its English translation, in much the same way as the words 'bog' and 'lough' had their literal meanings swapped or reversed in the linguistic traffic between the Irish and English language.

Derrida's Scapegoat: The Burning of Bridget Cleary

Hybrid Fairies

Irish fairy folklore continues to have a presence in modern Ireland and various adaptations of older traditions have mutated into a type of 'Christian mysticism' (Butler 2018, p.106). In Donegal there exists a group of people who adhere to this New Age Thinking and have a collective belief in the reality of fairies as 'nature spirits, and humans as reincarnated fairies' (Butler 2018, p.106). Butler highlights how these concepts stem from 'esoteric knowledge systems including Theosophy' (Butler 2018, p.107). The presence of fairy folklore in Ireland has not escaped capitalism and commercialisation either, as fairies enter children's books, films and cartoons. Indeed, the success of the Irish Fairy Door company in County Cork, a company which produces fairy sized doors, demonstrates how the presence of fairy folklore remains, even while older fairy traditions have faded into the mists of time.

Ireland's cultural and historical relationships with fairies form a significant part of Irish folklore and is 'interwoven into both the human and natural landscapes, and Ireland's fairy place-names and folk memories of fairy encounters help to give a strong sense of place' (Butler 2018, p.95). Ireland's fairies were originally called *sìdhe*, an Irish word which became Anglicised into the word fairy, a word which is suggestive of the 'whimsical and poetical' (Butler 2019, p.97), fairies associated more with the fairies seen in William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1596). Such figures are commonly thought of as benevolent supernatural beings that interact gracefully with humans, but this is not true of *sìdhe*. Medieval mythological writings give the term as *aes sìdhe* (or *aos sì* in Modern Irish), *aos* meaning 'people' and *sìdhe* meaning 'mounds', as they are beings said to have inhabited Ireland in

mythical prehistory' (Butler 2018, p.96). In Irish culture, folklore and superstition, fairies have a hybrid identity, and are not seen as the benign poetic creatures that the English translation denotes, as narratives and notions of nation collide. This latter point is elucidated upon by Bhabha in *Nation and Narration* (1990), when he states that 'nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye' (Bhabha 1990, p.1).

This is evident from a collection of handwritten notes on fairies by schoolchildren dating from 1937-39, which was the outcome of a project supervised by the Irish Folklore Commission, in conjunction with the Department of Education. Here the malevolence of the fairies is highlighted, as one letter explains how a man cutting a hedge was approached by a fairy and told to stop cutting the hedge as it was connected to a Fairy Fort, when he refused 'a thorn flew from the hedge and stuck in his eye and after a short time it got blind and from the badness of that eye his two eyes got stone blind' (Keogh 1937). Irish fairies are believed to be a race of supernatural entities belonging to a mythological race called the Tuatha Dé Danann. After various battles with other groups, the Tuatha Dé Danann lost the battle to the Milesians. According to myth, it was agreed that the tribes would divide the land equally between them; the over-ground portion going to the Milesians and the underworld to the Tuatha Dé Danann. They also got a small portion of land over-ground in the west of Ireland known as Tír na nÓg. They retreated to what were called in Irish *sidhé* or fairy mounds, so fairies are the direct descendants of the Tuatha Dé Danann. From their mythological origins, Irish fairies have a colonial resonance which could be interpreted as having parallels with the Irish being dispossessed by a powerful coloniser and Irish fairies forced to give up their land to the Milesians and hide 'from the Milesians in their subterranean abodes' (Butler 2018, p.96).

Displaced, they go underground but still have to live in parallel with the colonising

Milesians as their 'realm is intertwined with the physical world and, in that sense, they share the natural landscape with their human neighbours' (Butler 2018, p.99). The Milesians are seen as the invading humans that now inhabit Ireland, and should they interfere with or draw the attention of the fairies, they are subjected to bad luck or have their property vandalised or destroyed. In Irish culture, it is almost mandatory to blame any piece of misfortune on a disgruntled fairy who had been annoyed by the actions of the offending human. It is Bhabha's contention that this colonial doubling is a crucial part of the creation of the third hybrid space as 'it is precisely as a separation from origins and essences that this colonial space is constructed' (Bhabha 2004, p.171). The Irish landscape, as well as being a colonial landscape, is a landscape which is shaped by fairy folklore, it is replete with fairy hills, fairy caves, fairy trees, fairy rings and fairy forts. Fairy forts are, perhaps, the most well-known and best referenced of the fairy dwellings. Fairy forts are an earthen dwelling which contain a round wall or walls made of earth or stone. They are found spread across Northern Europe, some of these structures date to the first millennium of the Christian era, while others date to the Iron Age or earlier, some may even date to the Late Bronze Age.

Indeed, the arrival of Christianity may have had an effect on fairies, as an attempt to Anglicise them is reflected in the folklore of fairies where they are portrayed as demoted angels who have been outcast from heaven and ended up on Earth. However, this Christian colonisation of fairy folklore was unsuccessful as the mythology of fairies was passed down in stories, poems and songs in Irish oral storytelling tradition and maintained its pre-Christian origins. In fact, this is a common trait in folklore internationally. As Neil Gaiman highlights in his book, *Norse Mythology*, the Norse folklore of Odi, Thor and Loki was:

written down when Christianity had already displaced the worship of the Norse gods, and some of the stories we have came to us because people were concerned that if the stories were not preserved some of the kennings – the usages of poets that referred to events in specific myths – would become meaningless.

<div align="right">(Gaiman 2017, p.xvi)</div>

The phenomenon of fairy funerals, a common trope within Jeremiah Curtin's work and the handwritten notes from the Schools Collection, where accounts describe fairy funerals taking place, can be viewed through the lens of Gothic, supernatural history and culture. But also the notion of performance is present in these rituals and traditions, which corresponds with Vansina's work on oral history, where he states that 'traditions are performed' (Vansina 1985, p.108). Vansina demonstrates that because traditions are performed, the people performing them do so for a reason, and this reason mirrors the community. If someone is performing for prestige then that means that there is prestige in performing in that society or community. Furthermore it can be difficult if not impossible to determine how traditions were performed, by who, and for what reason, or, indeed, what benefit might have been attained by such a performance?

What fairy funerals, corpse touching, public executions and even beliefs in places like Purgatory represent is a *type* of performance. A performance which has universal appeal as the one connection that every human has with each other is death. Every single person will die. Death unites us all in that we will all experience it, both individually and to people with whom we form relationships and friendships. And performance is a significant part of death, across cultures and religions, performances, rituals and traditions have developed and endured. They have evolved, adapted and changed from generation to generation but the performance and traditions which informs them remain. However, as performance reflects tradition, thus, reflecting some nature or aspect of the community which places value on the performance, the

Irish traditions can be seen as a valuable performance, if they were not then they would have become extinct. The fairy traditions, however, never vanished into the mists of time, establishing their value as the past from which they came from continues to return to haunt the present.

In Ireland, circular markings on the earth are all that remains of the original dwelling. In the Irish language sources they are known by a number of names: *ráth* and *dún* are two of the more common Irish names for these forts. Surveys and studies believe that as many as forty thousand of these fairy forts are spread across the island of Ireland. It has always been a part of Irish superstition and folklore that these ringforts were not to be interfered with, and if at all possible should be avoided. Stories of ringforts and fairy activity have reinforced beliefs that these locations contain the magic of ancient druids and fairies. This is highlighted by the numerous accounts in the Schools Collection of the Irish Folklore Commission's handwritten notes collected from school children all across Ireland. These children had been told to speak to the oldest person they could find and record any stories of fairies or folklore that they could find. Sheila Brackett describes how a fairy fort in Tournageeha, two miles from Ballyduff, situated in a field near the Glen river is avoided by the farmer who owns the land whenever he sets crops as he believes that 'it is not right to meddle with the forts, for it is believed that the fairies who live in these forts could do you an injury' (Brackett n.d). Brackett describes another fairy fort where 'fairies are supposed to live [there] and sometimes lights are seen there, people returning late at night will take a long journey around the road, rather than take the short way round which would oblige them to pass the Fairy Fort' (Brackett n.d). Another handwritten note from Bridget Dolan highlights the injuries the farmer feared when she discusses how fairies living in an old fort situated in a townland called Tullincloy, three quarters of a mile from the village of Kiltyclogher on the road leading to Glenfarne Station there is:

A little tree growing almost on a rock, and that anyone who has ever tried to remove the rock by any means have met with severe injuries. The men who have being working there, raising or blasting stones, have met with such injuries. A man on one occasion went to remove the stone and lost his thumb with a stroke of the sledge with which he was working, and another man was surrounded by water from an unknown source, so old people in the district told that it was because they interfered with the Fairy Fort.

(Dolan n.d)

The accounts of fairy forts and injury caused to people who interfered with them, either physically or materially, are numerous and varied throughout the Schools Collection. These hybrid fairy places, what Bhabha would call spaces of enunciation, provide a good example of colonial doubling. Fairy forts are real physical structures which exist in the real world and can be seen and touched by real people, but they also act as a door to the Otherworld, they are connected by 'natural terrain, they are liminal sites, portals that connect realms' (Butler 2018, p.101), while allowing fairies to come and go between the world of humans and the Otherworld. But the Fairy forts were a liminal site through which humans could be taken to the Otherworld where the fairies dwelled. Much like the Old English settling in Ireland, eating Irish food, adopting Irish customs, rituals and traditions until there is no difference between the Old English and the Irish themselves, there were laws governing such movements. If someone was abducted by the fairies and brought to the Otherworld, they could potentially be rescued from the Otherworld if they refused to eat or drink anything the fairies might provide in the form of food or drink.

This is established in the Irish folktales collected by Jeremiah Curtin in his book *Irish Tales of the Fairies and the Ghost World* (2000). Jeremiah Curtin was an American ethnographer, folklorist and translator. Curtin made several trips to Ireland and visited the Aran Islands on numerous occasions, where, with the aid of interpreters, he collected Irish folklore stories, tales

and accounts of Irish fairies. Curtin has been credited with compiling one of the first accurate collections of Irish folk material. In his book, Curtin describes how a tale entitled *The Fairies of Rahonain and Elizabeth Shea* demonstrates how a woman called Elizabeth Shea was abducted by fairies and a *doppelgänger* was left in her place. In Irish folklore, the *doppelgänger* effect was more commonly known as the 'changeling' phenomenon, an event where somebody was taken by the fairies and replaced with a sickly and ill replica. The changeling usually died not long after. In the case of Elizabeth Shea, her changeling dies, and, soon after, her husband and father discover that she is alive and well and living in a fairy fort in a farmer's field. But they were too frightened to rescue her. She sends them a message that she can still be rescued as she has 'not tasted food in the fort yet…but at the end of seven years I'll be forced to eat and drink unless someone rescues me' (Curtin 2000, p.18).

This is a common motif in the folklore of fairies, that if one refuses to eat or drink fairy food, then they will not assimilate to their culture and way of life. This resonates with Bhabha's examination of disavowal in his essay, 'By Bread Alone', in which he discusses Sir John Kaye's description of an event in his book, *History of the Indian Mutiny*. Kaye describes somewhere in the North-West of India, a messenger took a flat cake made from flour and water, called a chapatti, it was passed from messenger to messenger and from town to town and as it moved from town to town, various interpretations were attributed to the chapatti. One group believed it was a symbol of food and that soon a great crisis would cut off their food supply, others believed that it was merely a superstition and more still believed that the British had poisoned or contaminated the chapatti in order to mock and defile Indians. Whatever the cause and reason for the chapatti being circulated, it is Bhabha's contention that this serves as an example of how the 'indeterminacy of meaning' (Bhabha 2004, p.289) becomes the spiritual symbol for historians of the mutiny. They propagate the myth, and in doing so they pass on the

'contagion of rumour and panic into their own serial, sensible narratives that become unsettled in that very act of repetition' (Bhabha 2004, p.289).

This is true of the eating and drinking of fairy food, a normal and ordinary activity, 'develops an unfamiliar social significance as sign through a transformation of the temporality of its representation' (Bhabha 2004, p.289). Turning ordinary cultural codes into symbols of rumour, panic and conspiracy so that the 'discursive figure of rumour produces an infectious ambivalence, an 'abyssal overlapping', of too much meaning and a certain meaninglessness' (Bhabha 2004, p.289). When fear and panic spread, 'it does not simply hold together the native people but binds them affectively, if antagonistically – through the process of projection – with their masters' (Bhabha 2004, p.291). This fear and panic spreads beyond ethnic or cultural binaries, and it emerges then as a hybrid space in relation to colonial power structures. It is this hybridity which can be seen in Irish fairy folklore, with the dispossessed and displaced Tuatha Dé Danann who are forced underground by the Milesians. When they do interact with the people living above them, they malignantly affect the lives of the people they are forced to share two realms with, unseen and unheard, present and absent, two realms existing in the same place at the same time and yet discretely hidden. These are two worlds that exist in parallel to each other and are not confined to separate governing rules. Instead the two realms form a colonial third hybrid space where fairies can visit and intervene in the human realm. And humans can be taken, often by force, to the fairy realm where if they eat and drink the food of the fairies they can inherit the powers of the fairies. Curtin's *The Fairies of Rahonain and Elizabeth Shea* demonstrates this when, at the end of the story, Elizabeth Shea becomes a fairy. After the seven years had passed she met her father and walked a mile with him without saying a word. When they parted she 'gave him a blow on the face. On the following day he had to take to his bed, and was blind for seven or eight years' (Curtin 2000, p.19). Before he lost his

sight, Elizabeth Shea's father witnessed her walk into the house and strike a blow on her child who 'died strangely soon after' (Curtin 2000, p.19). Elizabeth Shea completes her hybrid journey as a human who has the powers of a fairy, and it is not the only story that relates a human becoming a hybrid and possessing the supernatural power of fairies.

Death and Dying

Death and dying play a significant role in Irish fairy folklore and can be read as having aspects of colonial hybridity. In the case of Bridget Cleary, it also shows a clash between traditional beliefs and modernity, which was well underway in Ireland during this time period. The older beliefs and traditions remained but their currency and, therefore, their relevance was receding as a more modern and centralised Ireland began to take shape. The introduction of standardised timetables for trains, the collecting and archiving of records, as well as uniforms for the police force showed an Ireland that was rapidly becoming more modernised. It is this transition phase between tradition and modernity that proves dangerous to the wellbeing of Bridget Cleary, as people who had previously been in the centre of the traditional community were now being pushed to the fringes and discovering that their former beliefs and traditions were no longer of value, creating a violent backlash. David Lloyd notes how in pre-Famine Ireland when the population was double what it would become post-Famine that Ireland had been characterised by 'a willing pursuit and enjoyment of crowding' (Lloyd 2011, p.64). Lloyd references a name given to clusters of houses, some as small as sixty houses, which were built in sheltered hollows in the richest part of the townland. Lloyd states that the intimate closeness of these houses created an 'intimate oral culture and the 'promiscuity' that English observers found so scandalous' (Lloyd 2011, p.65). The conversations, which Lloyd states could last all night, covered topics such as history and politics. Lloyd notes how some people read newspapers and

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books and others 'were illiterate, but relied on remarkable feats of memory' (Lloyd 2011, p.65). The point on literacy is an important one in relation to Bridget Cleary, as similar to the apparitions at Knock and the language barrier, the literacy barrier is also becoming an issue in Ireland as a younger population is becoming literate while parts of the older generations remain illiterate. John Logan makes the point that:

> The 1841 national census reported that one in four people over the age of five could read and write and in 1911 four out of every five were thus classified. During the same period there was a remarkable increase in the number of children going to school. In 1841 12 per cent of those aged under twenty made at least one attendance during census week and by 1911 the proportion was 41 percent.

(Logan 1992, p.76)

It is this clash between tradition and modernity that Lloyd examines, and it is also relevant to Bridget Cleary as she becomes a symbol of modernity, using new technology to earn money and being able to read and write. All the while she clashes with men like Jack Dunne who represented the older traditions of using herbal potions instead of orthodox medicine, and where his reputation as someone versed in fairy medicine resulted in a clash between modernity and tradition.

The changeling phenomenon in Irish fairy folklore, in which fairies are thought to abduct humans and leave a sickly and ill *doppelgänger* in its place is common within Irish folklore. The *doppelgänger* has a long history in Gothic literature and has become a prominent Gothic trope. In his essay, *The Uncanny,* Freud describes the *doppelgänger* as someone who 'possesses knowledge, feeling and experience in common with the other, identifies himself with another person, so that his self becomes confounded, or the foreign self is substituted for his own—in other words, by doubling, dividing and interchanging the self' (Freud 2003, p.142). In fairy folklore, the *doppelgänger* often dies soon after but the human abducted can

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live in the Otherworld unperturbed, though forever separate from their family and friends. The relationship between death and specifically the *performance* of death is one that should be seen in a wider context. Death, the rituals and the performance of death were a varied, complex and evolving series of beliefs during the early modern period, with old rituals and religious beliefs abandoned and replaced with newer ones as religious realms like purgatory and limbo were questioned.

During the early modern period, there was a distinct division between a good death and a bad death. In fact, in Irish fairy folklore 'bad deaths' associated with a sudden demise under tragic circumstances were said to be 'in the fairies', which means they are residing in the fairy realm, especially if he or she died without a priest' (Butler 2018, p.99). Here Butler observes the way in which beliefs transform and mutate when they are passed down from one generation to the next, in this case it shows how fairy folklore intertwined with 'the Roman Catholic 'Last Rites'' (Butler 2018, p.99). Bad deaths were feared in the early modern period as they restricted access to the afterlife, thus, there were various rituals and superstitions which one could pursue in order to ensure a good death. Death in the early modern period was frequent with high mortality rates and outbreaks of the bubonic plague ensuring death was an ever-present figure in crowded urban areas where disease spread rapidly in the densely packed and unhygienic urban environments.

The selling of false hope is reflected in Ireland during the Great Famine, as Simon Young demonstrates in his article, 'Fairy impostors in County Longford.' The article examines the Great Famine and how Irish fairy folklore was used for fraudulent financial gain, as Young states: 'the Famine affected all areas of life including traditional belief' (Young 2012, p.189). Young explores how a letter published in *The Freeman's Journal* describes how a man named James Lyons died and was buried in Clonbrorry. A few months later, a man named Bryan

MacDonough, showed up at the house of the Lyons family and claimed to be James Lyons, explaining that he had been taken away by fairies and would not resume the form of James Lyons until New Year's Day when the power the Elfin King had over him would cease. While the family were sceptical, they allowed him to stay at the house to await his transformation. A year later, an accomplice of MacDonough arrived and claimed to be the deceased nephew of James Lyons, also taken by fairies and now returned unharmed. An elaborate plot to secure money and material goods in the form of oats was only prevented when the 'whole diabolical conspiracy was accidentally revealed to the respected curate of the parish, the Rev. Francis Kiernan, who immediately gave information to the authorities and got those infamous imposters committed to prison' (Young 2012, pp.182-183).

Similarly, in County Longford, a man named Matthew Lally, a private of the 2nd Queens Royal regiment, attempted to convince an unnamed family, which he had become acquainted with, that he was their dead son. He created an elaborate story in which their son was abducted by fairies, and, at the very least, managed to cast doubt on whether there was a body in the coffin that they had buried when their son died. It is alleged that they dug up the grave and found a tree log inside the body, though as Young points out this is difficult to know for fact 'did Lally know of some resurrection men in the area, who had taken a body, replacing it with a log before burial? Or did Lally dig up the coffin and arrange for a log to be placed inside before beginning his visit? As this information was not sworn to in court, there is the possibility that it was local' (Young 2012, p.187). Lally was somewhat more successful than MacDonough in that it does not appear that he ever appeared in court charged with any crime or fraudulent behaviour. An article condemning him as a charlatan appears in the *Westmeath Guardian* but otherwise he fades into obscurity. An interesting aspect of these Irish cases is the issue of religion which these cases pose as the issue of Purgatory, Protestants and Catholics once again

clash, this time in the realm of Irish folklore. According to Young: '[m]oreover, Catholics were sometimes criticised by Protestants for facilitating fairy beliefs. It is notable that the MacDonough case led to a Protestant polemic in the newspapers claiming that Catholic belief in purgatory had led to the Lyons scam' (Young 2012, p.185).

The Schools Collection provides another insight into performance as iteration of identity within the community, particularly, the performance of death, as changelings were directly linked to sickness and death, but fairy funerals too are a common folklore tradition. The death of a fairy often reflects the death of a human. The Michael McDonagh entry describes a man who did not attend his uncle's funeral because of the cold weather and later that day he witnessed a fairy funeral outside his house, where he saw:

> Three of the smallest little divls of men carrying a coffin and row upon row of we small women going after it. Lord save us they were crying like I could nt tell ye. The cried and cried until they pierced me very heart. I then knew what was in it. "The fairy funeral." Take the advice from me if you get word that any of your friends are dead and if you are toul to go to the funeral if ye don't go ye will mind of it.

(McDonagh n.d)

John Shudell tells the story of a man called John Lambert who was coming home from a fair. He was a butcher who had a hump on his back and when he looked in over a wall he saw leprechauns dancing around a tree in the middle of a field. When they spotted him, they beat him with their hurleys and he woke up in the middle of the road the next morning and the hump that had been on his back was moved to his chest. Two weeks later he was coming home from the fair again and noticed a funeral taking place on School Street and he asked an old man who had died: 'he asked a man, "who is dead?" "That's John Lambert, may the Lord have mercy on him", the man answered. Little did he know that this was the "fairy funeral". A week later he died and his funeral passed in the very same direction that the "fairy funeral" went. (Shudell

n.d.)

In these accounts, there is a hybrid aspect as the two realms of human and fairy collide, and not just collide but mirror and reflect each other, an aspect of hybridity highlighted by Paul Gilroy. Gilroy notes how it is this ability for hybridity to derive its 'special power from a doubleness, their unsteady location simultaneously inside and outside the conventions, assumptions, and aesthetic rules which distinguish and periodise modernity' (Gilroy 1993, p.73). This is a time of great change in Ireland, indeed, modernity is truly established at this point in Ireland's history, an observation noted by Angela Bourke when she highlights how Ireland is undergoing change. Train timetables introduced standard time, the police force wore uniforms, administration, records and the filing of records were imposed on the country and a whole world of 'wakes, herbal cures, stories of kings and heroes, and legends of the fairies' (Bourke 2006, p.9), has become marginalised. This doubleness is on display in Ireland, modernity is established at this period in Irish history; however, the fairies and their traditions still remain, perhaps not as prominent and potent as they had previously been, but the traditions still exist. As we will see later in this chapter, all of this would still have grave ramifications for Bridget Cleary and the people around her. Bridget Cleary becomes the symbol of modernity and finds herself amongst a group of patriarchal men, many of whom remain embedded in the traditional beliefs of Irish fairy folklore, with devastating consequences for everyone involved. In the School Collection, one man is punished for not attending a funeral and the other man is punished for not recognising that he had witnessed not just a fairy funeral but his own funeral a week in advance. Death and performance, traditions and rituals pertaining to death are intertwined across the realm of the fairies and the realm of humans.

Curtin's tale of *The Cattle Jobber of Awnascawil* describes how a man coming home at night was led into a fairy fort by some fairies. Inside the fort was a great mansion, and the

fairies ate, drank and sang songs with a piper but the man did not eat or drink the fairy food. When the fairies left him alone with just the piper, the man made his escape. However, having seen the fairies dip one finger into a box and rub their eye with it before leaving he did the same and upon leaving the Fairy Fort was able to see fairies with one eye 'and when his eye was rubbed he could see all the fairies in the world with that eye if they were before him, and not a one could he see with the other eye' (Curtin 2000, p.24). It is a consistent theme in Irish fairy folklore that human and fairy interaction involves a third hybrid space where humans take on the abilities of fairies. The colonised mind-set of the Irish is reflected in Irish folklore in the same manner that Vansina states that tradition is performed. Irish folklore is also performed and performances are as biased and prejudiced as their performers.

Bhabha's third hybrid space is prevalent in Irish folklore where the circulation of rumour and panic create 'an intersubjective realm of revolt and resistance' (Bhabha 2004, p. 287). This is evident in the case of Bridget Cleary where the performance of fairy folklore, including the repeated and forced attempts to get Bridget Cleary to say her full name while being force fed an herbal medicine provided by Denis Ganey, a man given the title of fairy doctor, in the belief that a changeling would be unable to say the name of the person they were impersonating. Vansina's description of performance as a reflection of community means the performer is afforded some item whether it is prestige, wonder or talent, hence, these must be valued by the community. Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary were representative of an older more traditional Ireland, and Bridget Cleary was an educated, fashion conscious, literate woman with a successful business. And it is this intersection of tradition and modernity that creates a prolonged and violent assault that results in the murder of Bridget Cleary; a murder that took place in full view of her family and friends who had gathered in the house. Here Vansina's statement that the performance of culture and tradition show their value is demonstrated.

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Michael Cleary could have been prevented from murdering his wife by any of the nine other people present in the house but nobody came to her aid, not even her father who sided with Michael Cleary in the belief that his daughter was a changeling.

As we have noted, Bhabha's colonial theory is heavily influenced by the post-structuralism of Foucault and Derrida, and Lacan's psychoanalysis heavily contributed to Bhabha's work, and Lacan in particular features heavily in *The Location of Culture*. Bhabha opens his 'Of Mimicry and Man' with a quote from Lacan who asserts that 'the effect of mimicry is camouflage...it is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background' (Bhabha 2004, p.121). This is true of the relationship between fairy folklore and colonialism in Ireland, it is a liminal area of research which provides the analysis that demonstrates the changes colonialism brought to Ireland and how these changes interacted with older traditions and belief systems. Bourke states in her introduction to *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* that the story of Bridget Cleary was told through different media, with newspapers and the courts of law telling it one way, and oral history more concerned with skirting around the more unspeakable aspects of the case and 'marking points of danger than with bringing offenders to justice' (Bourke 2006, p.ix) told it another way. For Bourke, her task was to examine fairy beliefs and fairy legends as the products of 'rational minds, operating in circumstances that are outside the experience of most people in modern, literate societies. It is an attempt to listen to the messages they convey' (Bourke 2006, p.ix). The same can be said of the relationship between Irish fairy folklore and colonialism, whether it is the legal depositions of 1641, the murder of Bridget Cleary, fictional vampires or colonial trauma in *Winterwood,* the messages they convey offer an insight into colonial hybridity. Irish fairy folklore then can be said to reflect the colonial mind-set, the intricately intertwined nuances of colonialism, a situation which applies equally to the coloniser as well as the colonised. In fact, the Old English

are an example of how the coloniser is transformed by their exposure to and interaction with the colonised Irish, as well as to the colonised. This is reflected in the carefully constructed tales, stories and accounts which make up Irish fairy folklore. Whether it is the eating and drinking of fairy food where ordinary cultural codes are transformed into symbols of rumour, panic and conspiracy to create an 'infectious ambivalence' (Bhabha 2004, p.289), or the advantages and disadvantages of eating or refraining from eating fairy food in Curtin's *The Fairies of Rahonain and Elizabeth Shea* or the hybrid powers gained when a man imitates the fairies behaviour and customs and gains the ability to see fairies normally invisible to humans in Curtin's tale of *The Cattle Jobber of Awnascawil*.

Revolution, Rebellion and the Burning of Bridget Cleary

The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story by Angela Bourke is an historical account of the murder of Bridget Cleary that attempts to contextualise the murder with the belief in fairies in Ireland during the late 1800s. Bridget Cleary was murdered by her husband, Michael Cleary, in Ballyvadlea, County Tipperary, in 1895. Her murder became infamous in national and international media for several reasons. Her husband claimed the motive for torturing and murdering his wife over a period of three days while she was ill in bed was the belief that Bridget Cleary was a changeling who had been taken by fairies and left a *doppelgänger* in her place so that he only murdered the changeling and not his wife. The macabre nature of the case also made it a prominent international news story, as Bridget Cleary was either burned to death or set on fire immediately after her death. For this to occur in 1895 might lead one to believe that Ireland was a backward thinking and deeply superstitious country that posed a danger to women regardless of whether they were married or not. But it can, in fact, be seen as a reaction to modernity.

Bridget Cleary can be seen as a scapegoat sacrificed by men in a patriarchal system that was itself reacting to a rapidly changing world. Lloyd's work examines the relationship between tradition and modernity, he makes the case that it is not simply the fact that modernity replaces tradition but that modern forms and institutions emerge in 'differential relation to their non-modern and recalcitrant counterparts' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). While the institutions of the modern state are a response to the resistance of the colonised they are not imposed in some 'perfected or fully realised form upon a backward population' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). However these new institutions of the state create new forms of resistance that are not 'easily subsumed into modern categories' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). Some of these forms of resistance are evident in the murder of Bridget Cleary. A key example is Jack Dunne, who recommends the fairy doctor, Denis Ganey, and helps to create the herbal medicine. Due to his knowledge and experience of fairies, he treats Bridget Cleary with a homemade herbal remedy, which her husband, Michael Cleary, favours instead of the medicine prescribed by a medical doctor. This is an example of the type of resistance alluded to by Lloyd. Despite Ireland being in the process of becoming a modern country with a centralised government, Dunne still has the power to convince Bridget Cleary's family and friends that she is a victim of a fairy changeling and he alone can cure her. Modernity does not banish Dunne or diminish his power to use fairy lore to cause Bridget Cleary irreversible harm. The fact that both he and Michael Cleary were able to do this in full view of other family members without any protest or resistance demonstrates just how much power people like Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary still wielded. This is despite being illiterate traditional men being pushed to the margins of a modernising society that once granted them unfettered power and status within their community.

Bridget Cleary was born Bridget Boland around 1869 in Ballyvadlea, County Tipperary, Ireland. She married Michael Cleary in August 1887, after meeting him in Clonmel where she

was working as a dressmaker's apprentice. After the marriage, she returned to her home town of Ballyvadlea to live with her parents, while Michael continued to work as a cooper in Clonmel. An unusual living arrangement for a married couple at the time, Bourke notes that this unusual occurrence might be explained by Bridget having to nurse her ailing mother but 'the Cleary's arrangement caused gossip' (Bourke 2006, p.45). While in Ballyvadlea, Bridget developed her own sources of income, granting her a rare financial independence, as the business of poultry was a gendered business and 'women could make as much money in one day by selling eggs as their husbands could earn in a week by labouring' (Bourke 2006, p.43). Bridget was particularly successful with her poultry business, seemingly having the patience and knowledge as 'proper care of hens requires great attention to detail, and minute observation of the behaviour of individual birds' (Bourke 2006, p.44).

She had also invested in a Singer sewing machine, which would have been state of the art at the time and a new technology not just in Ireland but internationally, and she was described as a dressmaker and a milliner. She had an eye for fashion and this can be witnessed even in her death, as Bourke describes how witnesses on the night she died described her wearing 'a red petticoat, a striped petticoat, a navy-blue flannel dress, grey (or green) stays, a navy-blue cashmere jacket, black stockings and boots' (Bourke 2006, pp.99-100). Michael and Bridget Cleary had been married for eight years and had no children when she died. After the death of Bridget's mother, the Clearys were given responsibility for Bridget's elderly father, Patrick Boland. His residence with his daughter and son-in-law allowed them to secure a house, which would usually be reserved for working labourers. Patrick Boland had been a labourer in his youth, thus, they were able to acquire what at the time would be considered the best house in Ballyvadlea. However, there was no widespread interest in the house, as it was built on the site of a fairy ringfort, which would have been considered by many people to be a bad omen and

destined to bring bad luck and trouble from the fairy folk, a folkloric belief deeply embedded in the Irish psyche.

On Saturday the 16th March 1895, Bridget Cleary was reported missing. She had been ill for several days after visiting a nearby neighbour to collect money for hens' eggs and spending more than one hour standing in the cold waiting for them to return before walking home without payment. Her diagnosis was said to be bronchitis. More than a week into her illness, on the 13th March 1895, Dr. Crean visited Bridget Cleary at her home. Her condition was considered sufficiently grave that a priest soon arrived at her bedside to administer last rites. Several of her friends and family members attended her house over the next two days, and a number of home remedies were administered including a mixture of herbs and milk. She was frequently force-fed this mixture over a period of three days as her husband Michael Cleary told the local priest that he did not trust the medication Dr. Crean prescribed for his wife.

Various witnesses described how talk of fairies and changelings began and only became more frequent and paranoid in the days leading up to the death of Bridget Cleary. Her husband, Michael Cleary, at various different times, held his wife over the fireplace and demanded that she recite her name as this was believed to be one way to determine if she was a changeling. Both her father and her husband accused her of being a fairy sent to take Bridget's place. Urine was thrown on her and she was carried before the burning fireplace to cast the fairy out. On the third day, and just before Bridget Cleary was murdered, Bridget seemed to recover from her illness, she got dressed and went into the kitchen. An argument ensued and again the subject of fairies was discussed; Bridget told Michael that the only person who had gone off with the fairies had been his mother. Michael attempted to force-feed his wife three pieces of bread and jam, when she struggled with the third piece of bread he threw her to the ground in front of the kitchen fireplace and threatened her with a piece of burning wood from the fireplace. Bridget

Cleary's chemise caught fire, and her husband then threw lamp oil on her. The witnesses were unclear as to whether she was already dead at this point. Michael kept the others back from her body as it burned, insisting that she was a changeling, and that the changeling would go up the chimney once he had cast it out.

By the 16th March, rumours were beginning to circulate that Bridget was missing, and the police began searching for her. Michael was quoted as claiming that his wife had been taken by fairies, and he appeared to be holding a vigil believing that she would emerge from a Fairy Fort on a white horse and if he was able to catch and wrestle her away from her fairy captors then his wife would be returned and allowed to stay with him. Witness statements were gathered over the ensuing week, and by the time Bridget Cleary's burnt corpse was found in a shallow grave on a boggy patch of land near her home on the 22nd March, nine people had been charged in her disappearance, including Michael Cleary. A coroner's inquest the next day returned a verdict of death by burning. Legal hearings ran from the 1st April to the 6th April 1895. A tenth person had been charged, and one of the original nine was discharged, leaving nine defendants bound over for trial. The court session began on the 3rd July and the grand jury indicted five of the defendants for murder, including Michael. All nine were indicted. The case proceeded to trial.

The evidence showed that on the 15th March, Michael summoned Father Ryan back to the Cleary household. Ryan found Bridget alive but agitated. Michael Cleary told the priest that he had not been giving his wife the medicine prescribed by the doctor, because he had no faith in it, a belief that is consistent with the earlier discussion of Christian belief that secular medicine was inadequate compared to prayer and penance. Instead he had turned to Jack Dunne, who had concocted a mixture of herbs and milk which was force-fed to Bridget Cleary. When her body was found it was noted that there were injuries to her lips providing evidence to the

eyewitness testimony that the force-feeding was both violent and unexpected. Jack Dunne was a man given the reputation of having experience with fairies due to stories that he had been abducted by fairies before being returned. He had a fractured hip which made one leg shorter than the other and like many illness that could not be explained was often attributed to interaction with fairies. Later that night, neighbours and relatives returned to the Cleary house. An argument ensued, again tinged with fairy mythology. As part of the trial, the jury was led to the building where Bridget Cleary's body was being held for burial. The jury were given the opportunity to see the condition of the body and the extent of her injuries, as well as to personally verify that the body was indeed Bridget Cleary's by observing her face. What the jury witnessed in the outbuilding convinced them of the horrible suffering Bridget had endured prior to death. One journalist described what he witnessed: '[i]t was wrapped in the sheet in which it was when discovered, and presented a most ghastly appearance. The back and lower part of the body were severely burned, the bones and intestines protruding.' (Bourke 2006, p.116). Michael Cleary was found guilty of manslaughter, and spent fifteen years in Marybrough (now Portlaoise) prison. He was released from prison on the 28th April 1910 and left Ireland for Liverpool before leaving for Montreal on the 30th June where he faded into obscurity.

The Great Irish Famine cast a long shadow over Ireland, its effects 'reaching deep into the social, political, and economic life of the country, and probably still further into the psyche of its survivors' (Pašeta 2003, p.35). With an estimated one-million dead of starvation and one and a half million people forced to emigrate on ships bound for America, it has been noted that a 'broad swathe of conditions appeared to improve in the aftermath of the Famine was both a product of that catastrophe and an extension of earlier trends' (Pašeta 2003, p.40). The decline of rural traditions and customs, including speakers of the Irish language was met with 'rising

literacy rates' (Pašeta 2003, p.41), was one of the legacies of the Famine as the poor suffered the most, being the most likely to be illiterate, Irish speaking, and landless. Literacy rates were higher in women than in men as economic disruption in the linen and textile industry combined with lower mortality rates for girls in infant and birth mortalities saw an increase in young women attending school and spending longer amounts of time in education. According to David Fitzpatrick this created an excess of people who were not able to gain employment. Fitzpatrick points out how in Cavan where there was an unusually high number of male deaths it was common to dress male teens in 'petticoats and long frocks in order […] to mislead the thieving fairies' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164).

One of the few industries available to women in terms of employment were parts of rural Ireland where the linen and textile industry provided employment. As the textile industry contracted the 'economic value of rural daughters was diminished' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164), and by 1871 'only a quarter of Ulster girls in their early teens were returned as having specified occupations' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164). The lack of employment resulted in girls attending school more regularly and for longer periods of time as 'school attendance and literacy were both most common in counties with few young girls in employment' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164). In 1841, less than one-tenth of girls between fifteen and twenty-five could read or write but by the end of the century basic literacy skills were universal for both sexes and was more 'prevalent among females' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164). The creation of the intermediate education system in 1878 was 'progressive in its inclusion of women on the same terms as men' (Pašeta 2010, p.177). It also saw an increase in the number of people applying for intermediate examinations as the number of candidates who presented themselves for intermediate examinations grew from under '4,000 in 1879 to almost 12,000 in 1910' (Pašeta 2010, p.177). In this sense, Bridget Cleary was not an outlier in 19th Century Ireland but a result

of the modernisation and social change occurring in Ireland. Her ability to read and write, to successfully breed and sell chickens, to acquire and operate new technology and to use these skills to her economic advantage was not a prelude to change but the result of much larger social patterns of change that were already taking place.

The changes were, however, not just a part of the education of men and women in Ireland but were a small, but vital, part of a much larger movement of modernisation that saw the Irish cultural revival offer its supporters cultural and political aspirations and 'the Irish movement was profoundly modern, relying for its success on the spread of literacy, communications, and social mobility' (Pašeta 2003, p.68). During the Home Rule crisis of 1912, the Irish women's suffrage movement were protesting for equality, taking to the streets and waving placards and were soon joined by more women believing that 'women's rights might form part of a broader liberal political settlement in the new Ireland' (Pašeta 2003, p.73). Their goals were, however, never realised in post-revolutionary Ireland. Indeed, the triumphs and failures of Ireland's attempts at modernisation are what make Ireland a distinct country in a colonial sense. As Edward Said noted in his afterword, 'Reflections on Ireland and Postcolonialism', Ireland was never a colony in the way India, the Congo, or Algeria was and that Ireland in its 'failings in backwardness and unmodern habits and structures are its own and cannot be ascribed to British colonialism' (Said 2003, p.177). Ireland's modernisation mirrored the 1848 revolutions in Europe, as republican revolts sought, without success, to overthrow monarchical governments. Born in 1869, Bridget Cleary arrived into a world that was post-1848 revolutions but the events preceding her birth provide an important insight into her social and economic environment. These factors, arguably, had their origins in not just the 1848 revolutions but events like the Great Irish Famine as well as social, economic and educational trends which preceded both the famine and the 1848 revolutions. But all these patterns of modernisation were given renewed

momentum by these historic events which 'accelerated the modernisation of the Irish female' (Fitzpatrick 1987, p.164).

While Michael Rapport's view that the revolutions of 1848 were ultimately a failure, the revolutions and the social upheaval they caused gave millions of Europeans their first taste of politics, as they politicised workers and peasants. Political clubs and workers associations developed in France and Germany as a result of the revolutions. The National Workshops formed in France created the right to work, universal male suffrage and feminist Parisians advanced women's rights. In Germany the dramatic increase in political newspapers brought politics big and small into towns and cities in the German states. Although the 1848 revolutions were dismissed as 'an aberration, an accident, a mad year' (Siemann 1998, p.1), which were put down by government, and its reforms quickly reversed, it was also, as Jean Sigmann noted, 'a great social victory for millions of peasants' (Sigmann 1973, p.331). While the revolutions themselves failed, most of the aims of the 1848 revolutions were realised later on when, Thiers created the Third French Republic, Bismarck united Germany, and, as Priscilla Robertson highlights, 'that these things could happen showed that the aims of the revolutionists were not dangerous to the structure of society, only their methods' (Robertson 1971, p.142). The politicisation of the French public could be seen in the rapid growth of political clubs and workers organisations, 'one historian has counted about 200 clubs existing in Paris' (Sperber 1994, p.167). These clubs were filled with different political viewpoints from socialists to liberals to radicals and all competing to be heard making the meetings chaotic and disorganised but for the first time mass amounts of men and women were being politicised. Women too were politically active, especially in Paris where shortly after the February revolution a group of Parisian feminists published a daily newspaper entitled *La Voix des Femmes* devoted to advancing women's rights during the revolution and published the following, 'young women

of the Gauls had the right to make the laws, they were legislators. In some tribes, African women have the right to vote. Anglo-Saxon women participated in England in the legislature…we struggle for liberty!' (Anderson 1998, p.1).

The National Workshops created workers, trade and producers associations, they negotiated tariffs and elected workers and peasants alike to the National Assembly. This burst of revolutionary activity was not refined to Paris either it was as William Sewell noted 'a vast nationwide political movement[…]that in spite of continuous repressive efforts[…]was only eliminated in the violent aftermath of Louis Napoleon's coup d'état' (Sewell 1980, p.244). These trade associations not only negotiated tariffs but created co-operatives, 'between 1848 and 1851, there were 300 cooperatives formed in Paris, counting workers from 120 different trades and involving some 50,000 members' (Sperber 1994, p.178). This collective mass movement of workers all pulling in the same direction for their mutual benefit formed the foundations of socialism. The French revolution acted as a catalyst for the revolutions which would sweep across Europe in 1848. A liberated press reported on politics, local and national, town hall proceedings, speeches and petitions in what was the emergence of the modern press. Europeans from different parts of Europe experienced a common event in the form of revolution and demands for free speech, universal voting and the right to work. All of which combined and competed for dominance, creating a collective memory that could not, and would not be ignored as Michael Rapport so aptly noted how the 1848 revolutions were a 'revolution of hope as well as despair' (Rapport 2009, p.xii). Europeans from different parts of Europe experienced a common event in the form of revolution and demands for free speech, universal voting and the right to work. Said recognises this as he states that every society contains a 'struggle over the national narrative, what its components are, who its main constituents are, what its shaping forces are, why some elements have been silenced and why others have

triumphed' (Said 2003, p.180).

The death of Bridget Cleary in a small rural town in Ireland, burned to death because of the belief that fairies had possessed her, would suggest that Ireland was an uncivilised place of superstition and savagery. Her violent death might be read as being symptomatic of a closeminded and vicious country which created the atmosphere for a woman to be tortured and murdered, not by strangers, but by her own husband, while her family and friends watched on. But Ireland in 1895 was a much different place. The death of Bridget Cleary does not establish that Ireland was an uncivilised country clinging to a dark and malevolent past filled with supernatural oddities and strange beliefs. Though, as Bourke observes, that is certainly how some people portrayed Ireland where 'reports of oral storytelling about fairies and Fairy Forts in Ireland shared newspaper pages with rumours of cannibalism from colonisers in Africa: suggestions of dangerous superstitions practiced alongside orthodox Catholicism gave comfort to both Irish Unionists opposed to Home Rule and anti-Irish factions in New York but made middle-class Catholics in Ireland distinctly uneasy' (Bourke 2006, p.vii). In fact, the death of Bridget Cleary was, arguably, a symbol of the colonial hybridity that the country was experiencing as the Irish language made way for the English language, as modernity, standard time, railways, newspapers, communication, electricity and all the advantages and disadvantages of modernity were experienced by Irish society at the time.

These marginalised people relied on a hybrid system which included Irish fairy folklore. Nor was this rejection of the new over the old a localised reaction; in fact, there was an international and a religious reaction to this new world order as can be seen by the amount of religious apparitions which took place around the world. Our Lady of Lourdes is a Roman Catholic title of the Blessed Virgin Mary venerated in honour of the Marian apparitions that allegedly occurred in 1858 in Lourdes, France. The first apparition occurred on the 11th

February 1858, when fourteen year old Bernadette Soubirous told her mother that a woman spoke to her in the cave of Massabielle while she was gathering firewood with her sister and a friend. In 1917, three shepherd children at the Cova da Iria, in Fátima, Portugal claimed to see an apparition of the Blessed Virgin. The apparition spoke to them on more than one occasion, foretelling them of events that would take place. But from the colonial point of view, the apparition in Knock, County Mayo, Ireland, was more significant in terms of language. While in Lourdes and Fatima, the apparitions seemed to have a specific mission which involved communicating with the people witnessing the apparition in order to provide prophetic warnings and secrets, in Ireland there was no communication and evidence of cultural hybridity on foot of Ireland's colonial experience provides a valid reason for this. In Knock, where a group of people claimed to witness an apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, Saint John the Evangelist and Jesus Christ in 1879.

To this day, they remain sites of religious worship and attract millions of visitors every year, but they also act as a symbol of the backlash against the modern age. Unlike, the other apparitions, the apparition at Knock was unique in that no words were spoken by any of the apparitions. This serves as an example of the colonial hybridity which was taking place in Ireland at the time; after all, which language would any of the apparitions have spoken? English or Irish? The group gathered to see the apparitions, the first people to see the visions were young children, would have spoken a mixture of both Irish and English, some would have not understood if any of the apparitions had spoken Irish, a point Kevin Whelan notes when he observes that the colonial encounter in Ireland meant that around this time the Irish were 'linguistically estranged, between two languages culturally adrift' (Whelan 2003, p.98). Others might have misunderstood had the apparitions spoken English, demonstrating Robert Young's belief that culture never remains static but constantly 'reforms itself around conflictual

divisions, participating in, and always a part of, a complex, hybridized economy that is never at ease with itself' (Young 1995, p.28). Thus, not only were the apparitions a backlash against modernity, they were in themselves a symbol of the hybrid change the country was experiencing at this period in time. It perfectly encapsulates how people like Jack Dunne, Patrick Boland and Michael Cleary felt trapped in this colonial hybridity, as their very world became a third hybrid space. Bourke notes how Ireland in 1895 was not the uncivilised home of savages, and journalists who came to Ballyvadlea were surprised to find Ballyvadlea to be far more 'modern and civilised than early reports had suggested' (Bourke 2006, p.150). Indeed, reporters who visited the Cleary house noted that while there was an element of basic living there was nothing to suggest that the images of savagery and mentions of witchcraft were in any way valid. Bourke notes how a whole world of 'wakes, herbal cures, stories of kings and heroes, and legends of the fairies - the culture of those who had not learned to read and write – became increasingly marginal, Jack Dunne, Michael Cleary, his older brother Patrick, and several others in this story, were among these people' (Bourke 2006, p.9).

Derrida's Scapegoat

Pharmakon, in philosophy and critical theory, is a composite of three meanings: remedy, poison, and scapegoat. The first and second senses refer to the everyday meaning of pharmacology, denoting any drug, while the third sense refers to the pharmakos ritual of human sacrifice. In philosophical work, the term is associated with Jacques Derrida's *Plato's Pharmacy*. Derrida's theory of the scapegoat is one which states that any perceived scapegoat is removed from the group or community in order to maintain an internal purity. In this case, Bridget Cleary can be seen as what Derrida describes as a scapegoat. Bridget Cleary lived in a patriarchal society, where men had power over women, it is men who worked and earned

money to keep the household functioning which deprives women of financial independence. In Bourke's *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* it is men who make the rules, and it is a woman who is sacrificed at the end of the story. The binary relationships in *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* of men/women and tradition/modernity create a 'violent hierarchy' (Derrida 1976, p. Ixxvii). The use of a sacrificial scapegoat is an example of Derrida's theories on the use of the word *pharmakon* where it can mean both poison and cure. Scapegoating has a long theological and mythological history as Richard Kearney highlights: '[c]ultic practices of scapegoating are common in early Greco-Roman society. One thinks of Prometheus bound to his sacrificial rock, Dionysus dismembered by the Maeneds, Iphigenia exposed to the sword, Remus cut down by Romulus' (Kearney 2003, p.260).

By deconstructing the gaps and absences, what Derrida eloquently called 'absence like the shadowed sound of the voice' (Derrida 1990, p.9), in the text and what is assumed in the *langue* the deconstruction of the underlying tension between patriarchy and violence in *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* will highlight Derrida's theory of deconstruction as the attempt to 'find the tensions, the contradictions, the heterogeneity within their own corpus' (Derrida 2013, p.9). A synchronic analysis of *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* reveals the account to have a focus on the dangers of superstition and the randomness of persecution in keeping with de Saussure's hypothesis 'that language as a total system is complete at every moment' (Hawkes 2004, p.9). Bridget Cleary is an unfortunate victim of the remnants of a backward and savage group of uncivilised and superstitious people. However, the 'diachronic or historical dimension which makes it subject to observable or recordable laws of change' (Hawkes 2004, p.8), would show that Ireland in 1895 was not the uncivilised home of savages and journalists who came to Ballyvadlea and were surprised to find Ballyvadlea to be far more 'modern and civilised than early reports had suggested' (Bourke 2006, p.150). Indeed, reporters who visited the Cleary

house noted that while there was an element of basic living, there was nothing to suggest that the images of savagery and mentions of witchcraft and devil worship so frequent in the media were in any way valid. This is a fact observed by Bourke when she notes how modern Ireland had become as it experienced a profound cultural change. Train timetables introduced standard time, the police force wore uniforms, administration, records and the filing of records were imposed on the country and a whole world of 'wakes, herbal cures, stories of kings and heroes, and legends of the fairies - the culture of those who had not learned to read and write – became increasingly marginal, Jack Dunne, Michael Cleary, his older brother Patrick, and several others in this story, were among these people' (Bourke 2006, p.9).

Behind the structure of *The Burning of Bridget Cleary*, behind the *langue* and *parole* exists a 'super-langue, which emits a fundamental message. Of course, the message is in 'code'' (Hawkes 2004, p.30), and attention to Derrida allows for a transcendental reading of the text. In this latter sense we understand transcendental as meaning 'going beyond interest for the signifier, the form, the language in the direction of the meaning or referent' (Derrida 1992, p.44). Bourke states that the code within *The Burning of Bridget Cleary* is not just the understanding of Irish fairy folklore but to recognise fairy folklore as a currency, a currency, which like the performance of death, discussed earlier in this chapter, was a valuable commodity within the community and society; possessing this currency gave the person access to a valuable commodity. Bourke states that this currency should be viewed as a 'system of interlocking units of narrative, practice and belief, fairy-legend can be compared to a database; a pre-modern culture's way of storing and retrieving information and knowledge of every kind, from hygiene and childcare to history and geography' (Bourke 2006, p.29). People like Jack Dunne, who like many people of his age and generation could not read or write, had access to this database in their supposed knowledge of fairies. In a society where fairies were blamed for

illness which could not be explained, Jack Dunne provided the same false hope that the people during the Great Plague of London had provided when selling cures and supernatural advice on how to cure the plague.

Bridget Cleary was buried at night, no family or friends attended the burial and she was buried in an unmarked grave with no identifying markings. There was no headstone marking Bridget Cleary's grave, no name or date of birth or death. This is an non-traditional Christian burial, and unorthodox in that Bridget Cleary was given a burial normally reserved for someone who had committed a grievous sin such as suicide or murder. But Bridget Cleary was none of these, she was an innocent party in her own death and, despite some newspapers, mostly British, referring to Bridget Cleary as a witch who was burned. There can be no doubt to her family, friends and the Church that she was not a witch and therefore there were no satanic associations attributed to Bridget Cleary, which might have invited such an ignominious burial. Her only crime seems to be that she was a woman who transgressed patriarchal rules for most of her young life. A young woman who was married but had no children, educated, she could read and write, financially independent, she ran a successful poultry business and was a trained seamstress with the technological advances of the Singer sewing machine showing how forward thinking this young Irish woman was. She was also financially successful, possibly even more so than her husband. She was fashion conscious, wearing fashionable clothes and always on top of the latest trends. Bridget Cleary was moving up in the world and according to Bourke was on a different social plain to the men and women who surrounded her.

And yet she died violently at the hands of illiterate men, many of them related to her, and was buried nameless. Bridget Cleary became the Other, separate from the active male characters and devoid of an identity. Derrida highlights the importance of names and identity: '[t]he power of the name produces effects said to be real and over which we are not in

command. The name hidden in its potency possess a power of manifestation and of occultation, of revelation and encrypting' (Derrida 2002, p.214). By removing the names of the transgressive female, she is not just nameless she is without status or class as Derrida noted, when writing about Lévi-Strauss, Strauss states that 'one…never names, one classes someone else…or one classes oneself' (Derrida 1998, p.76). Women have no class or status within a patriarchal society; the females are property rather than individuals. The use of the sacrificial scapegoat corresponds to Derrida's theories on the use of the ancient Greek word *pharmakon*, which, as we have noted, translates as both remedy, poison and scapegoat. In his essay *Plato's Pharmacy*, Derrida traces the meanings assigned to *pharmakon* in Plato's dialogues as both the cure and the illness.

The choice of Bridget Cleary as the sacrifice cannot be seen as a random choice but as a means for the patriarchal system to remove an outspoken voice, a female who does not fall in line like other females, a poison which can be seen to have the same power of the *pharmakon* to act 'like an aggressor or housebreaker, threatening some internal purity or security' (Derrida 1981, p.128). Bridget Cleary is tortured over a period of three days, she is repeatedly force-fed and held over a fireplace before being asked if she is Bridget Cleary, the daughter of Patrick Boland and the wife of Michael Cleary? It was believed that this ritual was one way of forcing a changeling out as it would be unable to confirm its true identity. However, despite how terrified and ill she must have been, Bridget Cleary was able to reply, thus, earning her a temporary reprieve. Witnesses later noted in court how dirty and dishevelled Bridget Cleary was, a fact noted due to how she was known for her cleanliness and fashion conscious nature. Her nightdress was burned from repeatedly being hauled over the fire, with ash and a mixture of milk and Jack Dunne's herbs on her face and, Bridget Cleary has a dirty/clean binary. Earlier, Bridget Cleary offered to pay her cousin Johanna Burke a shilling for milk she had brought to

the house, but it is alleged in court by Johanna Burke that Bridget Cleary took the shilling and rubbed it against her thigh before giving it to Johanna Burke. Michael Cleary would later accuse his wife of rubbing the shilling up against her thigh and she would reply 'there was no pishogues about her' (Bourke 2006, p.92). *Piseog* is a diminutive Irish word for the vulva, literally meaning piss and pit, however, in this instance it refers to magic and usually indicates something that is organic and left to rot on someone else's land or property to bring them bad luck. This was further highlighted in court when it was suggested that Bridget Cleary removed the communion wafer from her mouth after being given communion, though it was disputed by others. In terms of binary opposites, the title of the story *The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story* is also a binary opposite resulting in Derrida's violent hierarchy, as Bourke acknowledges calling it a true story is ironic. Despite the fact that Bourke uses primary source material and when providing her own opinion on any aspect of Bridget Cleary, she clearly states that this is her own opinion, Bourke asserts that 'anything we can say about the past is at best provisional' (Bourke 2006, pp. vii-ix).

The clean/dirty binary and the good luck/bad luck binary are reflections of the *pharmakon* poison/cure binary. Bridget Cleary is on the outside from the beginning, as she is different from the other women; she is childless, fashion conscious, able to read and write, a successful woman when there were few successful women. Nevertheless she moves into the inside when she needs to, challenging her husband when he accuses her of being a changeling, she responds by saying that his mother had been taken by the fairies, a serious insult and accusation to make, it shows how Bridget Cleary moves between the very lines she transgresses just as 'the ceremony of the *pharmakos* is thus played out on the boundary line between inside and outside' (Derrida 1981, p.133). The rituals performed on Bridget Cleary involve repetition in the form of the ceremony and the resulting death of the person singled out by the men as a sacrifice remaining true to the

'rite of the *pharmakos*; evil and death, repletion and exclusion' (Derrida 1981, p.134). The binary opposite of tradition/modernity is another source of tension that plays on the connection between patriarchy and violence in *The Burning of Bridget Cleary*. Once more Lloyd writes that 'that modern forms and institutions emerge always in differential relation to their non-modern and recalcitrant parts' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). Michael Cleary is unable to leave superstition and tradition behind, he associates progress and modernity as moving backwards projecting that some evil will befall them and this is symbolic of how 'the *pharmakos* represents evil both introjected and projected' (Derrida 1981, p.133). Michael Cleary believes in the power of a sacrifice and the evil that will befall them if a scapegoat is not sacrificed in order to expel the evil from his wife in the same manner that 'the character of the *pharmakos* has been compared to a scapegoat. The evil and the *outside*, the expulsion of the *evil*, its exclusion out of the body of (and out) of the city – these are the two major senses of the character and of the ritual' [italics in original] (Derrida 1981, p.130). Ultimately, Bridget Cleary, a personification of female empowerment against a patriarchal hierarchy, and a symbol of individuality falls victim to the patriarchal power structure, which expels any outside influence that threatens the patriarch paradigm. As Derrida suggests: '[t]he city's body *proper* thus reconstitutes its unity, closes around the security of its inner courts…by violently excluding from its territory the representative of an external threat or aggression [italics in original]' (Derrida 1981, p.133).

For Bourke: 'fairy-legends carry disciplinary messages for women as well as for children, warning them about behaviour considered by a patriarchal society to be unacceptable' (Bourke 2006, p.37). And in the case of Bridget Cleary, the only documented case of an adult being killed for being a changeling, this is as much colonial as it is patriarchal. In her article 'New Hybridities, Old Concepts', Floya Anthias defines culture as 'patterned ways of knowing and doing' (Anthias 2010, p.627). Anthias states that these become institutionalised within

hegemonic structures and transgression of the core tenets of these processes and structures 'leads to forms of social regulation, prohibition, exclusion, or banishment' (Anthias 2010, p.267). The constant clash of the tradition/modernity binary, which welcomed free-spirited people like Bridget Cleary, also pushed people like Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary to the fringes of society. This meant that the institutions of the modern state which have emerged from the 'resistance of the colonized' (Lloyd 2008, p.4) are not fully formed or imposed flawlessly on the people they are meant to transform so that 'the modern state and the practices of the colonized continually react upon and displace each other' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). A society that Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary once dominated and controlled are now finding themselves caught in a maelstrom of modernity, with a foot in both worlds, they do not belong to either world. Thus, they become marginalised hybrid figures who embrace fairy folklore as 'fairies belong to the margins and so can serve as reference points and metaphors for all that is marginal in life' (Bourke 2006, p.28). These hybrid fairies constitute symbols of knowledge and power, the knowledge of medicine which can be seen in the use of fairy doctors. This can be explicitly seen in medical terms where someone having had a cerebral haemorrhage is said to have had a stroke comes from the term *fairy stroke*, a name given to people suffering the symptoms of paralysis which accompany a cerebral haemorrhage.

This site of power and knowledge is what Bhabha says 'spreads beyond the knowledge of ethnic or cultural binarisms and becomes a new, hybrid space of cultural difference in the negotiation of colonial power relations' (Bhabha 2004, p.292). Bridget Cleary was able to read and write, she was educated and was a professional at a time when not many women were afforded that opportunity. Despite the fact that the people who surrounded her were illiterate, many of them unable to read or write, Bridget Cleary cannot speak. There is no written record from Bridget Cleary, no defence, no explanation, she does not have a headstone containing her

name. Not only was Bridget Cleary murdered, she was silenced, and while there are merits to the old adage that history is written by the victors, in the case of Bridget Cleary it might be more accurate to say that history is written by the living. During the court case, the Judge allowed for the fact that some people were unable to read or write and so their evidence was given orally and recorded so their side of the story could be read and preserved for history, and, where required, any and all documentation was read aloud to them. Any comments or opinions which they wanted to make were recorded for posterity and, as such, formed the basis of the primary source material used by Bourke.

Bridget Cleary, however, remains silent throughout, the only words available to the reader come from the thoughts and recollections of the men and women who had visited her in the days before she died, many of whom were actively involved in her torture and murder. And while accounts of the night Bridget Cleary was murdered in her own home vary from one witness to the next, one aspect remains the same throughout all the testimony given in court, and that is that not one single person attempted to save the life of Bridget Cleary, not while she was clearly ill and in a state of shock, and not when oil was poured on her by her husband and her body was consumed by flames. For many people in that room, Bridget Cleary was a changeling, which much like Derrida's scapegoat needed to be expunged in order to maintain an internal security. Just as Jack Dunne was clinging to an Ireland that was already receding, leaving him with a currency that was no longer valid, the Irish language was slowly being replaced by the colonial language of English, Ireland was not so much on the cusp of modernity as right in the middle of it. Thus, it can be argued that Ireland was in a state of flux, modernity had arrived but the older traditions still remained as Lloyd observes that 'modernity does not replace tradition' (Lloyd 2008, p.4). Just as Bhabha posits the creation of culture in the overlapping interstices of influence where both coloniser and colonised become transformed,

in his analysis of modernity, Lloyd insists that each distinct state is 'differentiated out of unique and particular local circumstances which are at once preserved and transformed in this process' (Lloyd 1999, p.100). In the face of modernity, Jack Dunne and Michael Cleary and the tradition of fairy folklore still proved a malevolent force which nobody in the room with Bridget Cleary dared to challenge.

Chapter Three

Empire and Vampire: 'New Woman Gone Wrong'

Gothic Origins

Before becoming one of the most prominent figures of gothic fiction, the literary vampire first appeared in 18th century poetry, with the publication of John William Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819), which was inspired by the life and legend of Lord Byron. The vampire found a natural home in Gothic short stories and novels, with these pieces of fiction becoming known as 'Penny Dreadfuls', a term used to describe inexpensive, popular serial literature produced during the 19th century. The term typically referred to a story published in weekly parts, each costing one penny. The subject matter of these stories was typically sensational, focusing on the exploits of detectives, criminals, or supernatural entities. The vampire would be developed further, given specific characteristics, mythologies and histories. Though there was always a wide variation in the nature of vampires, they were always seen as unsympathetic and evil creatures occupying a hybrid space between dead and undead, a characteristic which, as will be seen later in the chapter, was to radically change towards the end of the 20th century. In turn, Le Fanu's tale of a lesbian vampire, *Carmilla* (1872), and the masterpiece of the vampire genre, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), became the cornerstones of vampire literature in the late 19th century.

In the 1720s and 1730s there were a series of official exhumations of corpses, which people believed were murderous vampires rising from the grave. In Serbia, Petar Blagojevich was exhumed, and a stake was driven through his chest and his body was burnt, as it was believed that he was a vampire who had killed nine people in his village after his death. Arnold Paole

was another Serbian who was posthumously accused of being a vampire who spread the disease of vampirism which killed sixteen people in his village. The Serbian authorities had his body exhumed, a stake driven into his chest, his head removed, and his body burnt. The deceased victims of the alleged vampirism had the same procedure carried out on their bodies. One of the first works of art to touch upon the subject is the short German poem, *The Vampire* (1748) by Heinrich August Ossenfelder. In this work the theme of vampirism has strong erotic overtones: a man whose love is rejected by a respectable and pious maiden threatens to pay her a nightly visit, drink her blood by giving her the seductive kiss of the vampire and thus prove to her that his teaching is better than her mother's Christianity. Furthermore, there have been a number of tales about a dead person returning from the grave to visit his/her beloved or spouse and bring them death in one way or another.

The narrative poem *Lenore* (1773) by Gottfried August Bürger is an 18th century example of a deceased person returning from their grave to visit her beloved. One of its lines, "Denn die Todten reiten schnell" translated into English means 'for the dead travel fast,' and it was later quoted in Stoker's *Dracula*. A German poem exploring the same subject was *The Bride of Corinth* (1797) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. This poem includes vampiric elements, as it tells of a young woman who returns from the grave to seek her husband. It is essentially a story of the religious conflict between heathenism and Christianity. The family of the dead girl are Christians, while her husband and his family are pagans. As we shall see, religious tropes and conflicts reoccur in Stoker's *Dracula*, with strong religious symbols and imagery becoming an integral part of the novel's construction. Robert Southey's poem, *Thalaba the Destroyer* (1797), is the first time the vampire is mentioned in English literature; Thalaba's deceased beloved Oneiza turns into a vampire. Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem, *Christabel*, has also been credited with helping to shape the development of vampire literature, and Lord Byron's

poem *The Giaour* (1813) alludes to the traditional folkloric conception of the vampire as an entity that drinks blood and destroys the life of its relatives.

Throughout the 20th century, vampires became a prominent part of Gothic culture, particularly on television and cinema screens, with Stoker's *Dracula* adapted for cinema screens as *Nosferatu* (1922). The vampire, however, also began to cross genres and explore new territory in science fiction, as can be seen in Gustave Le Rouge's *Le prisonnier de la planète Mars* (1908) and its sequel *La guerre des vampires* (1909), in which a native race of bat-winged, blood-drinking humanoids are found on Mars. In the 1920 novella *La Jeune Vampire* (The Young Vampire), by J.-H. Rosny Aîné, vampirism is explained as a form of possession by souls originating in another universe, known simply as, The Beyond. Richard Matheson's science fiction novel, *I Am Legend* (1954), is a novel where the primary character is Robert Neville, the sole survivor of a pandemic whose symptoms resemble vampirism. The novel was adapted into the films, *The Last Man on Earth* (1964), *The Omega Man* (1971), *I Am Legend* (2007), and *I Am Omega* (2007). The latter part of the 20th century witnessed a change in the characteristics of the vampire who was transformed from a blood thirsty demonic creature into a tragic hero, and the vampire became more humane and was presented as a creature that demonstrated the perils of immortality. Marilyn Ross's *Dark Shadows* (1966) series set the trend for seeing vampires as poetic tragic heroes rather than as the traditional embodiment of evil.

This formula was followed in the popular *Vampire Chronicles* (1976) series of novels by Anne Rice, and Stephen King's vampire novel, *Salem's Lot* (1975), was one of the few books which followed the archetype of the vampire as the embodiment of evil which must be defeated. Essentially an update on Stoker's *Dracula*, King set his vampire novel in a modern American town and acknowledges Stoker's influence on his novel. In the 21st century, the vampire once

again experienced a revival in both literature as well as on television and in cinema. Stephanie Meyer's *Twilight* series of books became bestsellers and the films resulted in a multi-million-euro franchise. Meyer's vampires were not the demonic creatures of Stoker, Le Fanu or King, but were written for a teenage audience. They detail how a young teenage girl falls for a two-hundred-year-old vampire and a teenage romance story ensues, with the vampire as a sympathetic and tragic hero. Vampire literature closer to the origins of the vampire appeared in the form of Swedish author John Ajvide Lindqvist's critically praised vampire story *Let the Right One In* (2007). Lindqvist's narrative dealt with the relationship between a twelve-year-old boy and a two-hundred-year-old vampire child, and it retains many of the vampire traits popularised by *Dracula*.

The Gothic and Colonialism

In the previous chapter we encountered Bridget Cleary, with her Singer sewing machine, her fashionable clothes and what looked like a remarkable rise in social status. This was added to by her rejection of Irish folklore when she agreed to take a house located near a fairy fort. These combined factors positioned her as a corrupting agent that needed to be purified, and when purification failed, she was removed from the patriarchal society. In 1872, twenty-three years before Bridget Cleary was murdered, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu published his vampire novella *Carmilla*.

Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu was born on the 28th of August 1814 in Dublin, into a literary family, Huguenots of Irish and English descent. He had an elder sister, Catherine Frances, and a younger brother, William Richard. His parents were Thomas Philip Le Fanu and Emma Lucretia Dobbin. Both his grandmother, Alicia Sheridan Le Fanu, and his great-uncle, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, were playwrights, (his niece Rhoda Broughton would become a successful

novelist), and his mother was also a writer, producing a biography of Charles Orpen. In 1833 Le Fanu was accepted as a student at Trinity College, Dublin, studying law and graduating in 1839, with academic honours. He was called to the bar but never practiced, choosing a career in journalism on the staff of the *Dublin University Magazine*. In 1838, Le Fanu's first story *The Ghost and the Bonesetter* was published in the *Dublin University Magazine*, which he would later purchase and, in 1861, take on the role of editor. In 1844, Le Fanu married Susanna Bennett and they had four children. In 1851, Le Fanu and Susanna moved to their house on Merrion Square, Dublin, where he remained until his death. *Ghost Stories and Tales of Mystery* was published that year and *The Mysterious Lodger* in 1850. In the year 1858, Le Fanu's wife Susanna died, and he became a recluse, setting to work in his most productive and successful years as a writer as he become a major figure of 19th century supernaturalism. His work turned the Gothic focus on external sources of horror to the inward psychological. *In a Glass Darkly* is Le Fanu's best known collection of short stories, including the short story *Green Tea* and what many regard as one of the first pieces of vampire literature in the novella, *Carmilla*.

Carmilla, the title character, is an examination of female sexuality. As Carmilla is a lesbian vampire, she only kills female victims and only becomes romantically involved with females. Carmilla would become a prototype of lesbian vampires that challenge the strict rules governing female sexuality. In this chapter, we will examine how Laura and Carmilla forge a third hybrid space that subverts the patriarchal and male kinship system into which Laura is born. While subconsciously longing to break free of the patriarchal bonds imposed on her by Victorian-era gender-based ideologies and patriarchy, Laura's relationship with Carmilla 'spreads beyond the knowledge of ethnic or cultural binarisms and becomes a new, hybrid space of cultural difference in the negotiation of colonial power-relations' (Bhabha 2004, p.292). Le Fanu portrays Carmilla's sexuality with the subtlety that one would expect for his

time; however, it is evident that lesbian sexuality is the main dynamic between Carmilla and Laura. As the narrative reveals: '[i]t was like the ardour of a lover; it embarrassed me; it was hateful and yet overpowering; and with gloating eyes she drew me to her, and her hot lips travelled along my cheek in kisses; and she would whisper, almost in sobs,'you are mine, you shall be mine, and you and I are one for ever' (Le Fanu 2013, p.33).

Le Fanu was subverting a culture with strict gender-based conventions regarding sexuality, gender and religious dogma. Carmilla has a hybrid role acting as both the dispossessed victim of colonialism and the all-conquering colonial invader. In this way, we shall argue that Le Fanu displays multiple historical layers through both characters, fitting Ashis Nandy's description of colonialism as 'a shared culture which may not always begin with the establishment of alien rule in a society and end with the departure of the alien rulers from the colony' (Nandy 1983, p.2). Le Fanu's *Carmilla* can also be retroactively read as a story of the long term effects of colonialism, with the vampire acting as the past returning to claim what was rightfully hers. She colonises the colonisers by converting them into vampires who will help spread an empire of reverse-colonialism in the vampire's homeland as the past returns to haunt the present. The colonial vampire is a versatile creature that takes on many roles and faces as it crosses boundaries and transgresses political and social norms. In his *Terror and Irish Modernism: The Gothic Tradition from Burke to Beckett* (2009), Jim Hansen examines how vampires in the late 19th Century displayed a hybrid and often contradictory image. An infamous political cartoon entitled *The Irish Vampire* published in 1885 in the English newspaper, *Punch*, depicts Ireland's National Land League as an ominous vampire bat descending upon a young and helpless maiden. The caricature has a face peculiarly reminiscent of Charles Stewart Parnell's, Ireland's most noteworthy Victorian-era political leader. In Hansen's view: 'In a curiously antipathetic extension of the post-Union gender double bind, Lady Erin, depicted here as

resolutely helpless, finds herself threatened by a vampiric, Irish masculine terror. The terror here is from within Ireland itself' (Hansen 2009, p.60).

In 1879, Michael Davitt founded the Land League and Parnell became the organisation's first President. It received support both at home and significant financial support from the Irish in America. Here, however, our focus is on the symbolic nature of the bat and the vampire, as it demonstrates just how demonised the vampire had become. Equally, this visual iconography shows the colonial attitude towards the Irish, comparing them once again to an animal and it also displays a willingness to use Gothic and supernatural tropes to mock and produce colonial images of propaganda as can be seen below:

Figure 3. The Irish Vampire. Source: Google Images

Sara Wasson's *Urban Gothic of the Second World War: Dark London* examines the use of the Gothic during the Second World War, and also the use of both the uncertainty of time and the Lazarus-like ability of the vampire to return from the dead and feed upon the living. Wasson highlights how Elizabeth Bowen's short stories, *Songs My Father Sang Me* and *Demon Lover* involve ghosts who return from the dead during the First World War. Wasson explores how both the Gothic and the vampire highlight a continuity between the two combats, a way in which the First World War never quite ended on a certain imaginative plane. To a generation

who had seen the slaughter of the Somme, the Second World War seems like dread repetition, 'humanity locked into a cycle of violence' (Wasson 2010, p.11). This falls in line with Freud's theories on the familiar/unfamiliar and how this produces the uncanny and a host of horrors which return from the past to haunt the present. Wasson examines how the mythology of the Gothic and the vampire operate within London, the heart of colonial empire, as loved and admired by the colonial British, as it was loathed and despised by colonised people and races all across the world. Maria Beville moves the vampire from the postcolonial to the postmodern in her *Gothic-postmodernism: Voicing the Terrors of Postmodernity* (2009). Beville posits the theory that critics have not excluded the Gothic from postmodern literary theory completely, and have taken into account 'the form of modern vampires such as Lestat of the Ann Rice Chronicles' (Beville 2009, p.51).

As previously discussed in Chapter One when examining Irish bogs as Gothicised areas of shifting uncertainty and colonial anxiety in relation to the very real and literal shifting of the bog due to its natural composition, Beville places the Gothic and the postmodern in a 'certain sliding of location, a series of transfers and translocations from one place to another so that our sense of stability of the map is – as indeed it has been since the first fantasy of the Gothic castle – forever under siege' (Beville 2009, p.52). Beville places the fragmented and constantly shifting terrain of the Gothic in the postmodern sphere, something which can be seen in contemporary vampires. For example, Meyers' *Twilight* vampires are removed from the colonial sphere and are increasingly creatures who form romantic relationships with humans. It does make one wonder what the future holds for the vampire as colonial vampires become 21st century postmodern vampires exploring relationships. Gina Wisker duly provides a solution in her essay, 'Celebrating Difference and Community: The Vampire in African-American and Caribbean,' charting the role of the vampire in women's writing from literature

to television. Wisker examines the role of the vampire from Angela Carter's *The Bloody Chamber* collection to Meyers' bestselling *Twilight* vampire series of books. Wisker analyses how women use the vampire to portray a sense of community and diversity so that 'Meyers *Twilight* series (2005-8) repeats romantic love and reasserts community/family themes, while Charlaine Harris's *True Blood* (2008-11) suggests that the vampire is your neighbour and we must live together, however uneasily' (Wisker 2013, p. 51). Citing Octavia Butler's *Fledging* (2005), Tanabarive Due's *Blood Colony* series and Nalo Hopkinson's short stories, Wisker charts a postcolonial vampire who has left colonialism and Empire behind in an attempt to rebuild a fractured society into a uniformed and diverse whole as she states that 'in the hands of women and Caribbean writers the vampire is post-postcolonial, no longer does the vampire represent oppression or rebellion, but is instead a hybrid which moves beyond fears of identity into states of becoming, belonging, community and the celebration of the diversity and worth of self and others' (Wisker 2013, p.65).

However, and wherever, the vampire manifests, it is a creature of many masks, a kaleidoscope of infinite patterns and designs. Yet the vampire's home has always been colonial, a marginalised, dispossessed, displaced and fragmented figure whose obituary gets written repeatedly by critics only for the vampire to once again rise from the dead and return to haunt the present and taunt its doom-merchants. This is a point Glennis Byron and Aspasia Stephanou make when they note that after the bombing of Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 it became 'increasingly difficult to accept the central proposition of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire*: 'Imperialism is over''(Byron and Stephanou 2013, p.189). Their essay continues to explore Justin Cronin's trilogy of vampire novels, beginning with *The Passage* (2010) and continuing with *The Twelve* (2012) and ending with *The City of Mirrors* (2016). In these narratives America is taken over by vampires and in order to survive the

remaining humans must create vampire free colonies which they call Colony 1, Colony 2 and so on in that fashion. Dispossessed and dislocated within their own country, with a minority of humans living amongst a majority of vampires, and, as the authors point out, 'as in *Dracula*, the vampires come to seem not just Other but also uncannily familiar, mirroring back imperial practices in monstrous form with their eternal hunger to devour the world' (Byron and Stephanou 2013, p.194). They draw parallels with colonial rule from the past and how it is reflected in Cronin's work, especially given the way that America has inflicted, and continues to inflict, neo-imperial practices on diverse global populations. And one cannot help but wonder what type of literary vampire might emerge from the blood soaked rubble of the Middle East in the future.

Already Ahmed Saadawi's critically acclaimed, *Frankenstein in Baghdad* (2014) has emerged from the ruins of the American-led invasion of Iraq in 2003. Hadi, a disreputable old junk-dealer, collects body parts of bomb victims attempting to complete the broken bodies before burial. One night, one of his reassembled bodies disappears and, thus, begins a reply to Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818). What ensues is a Gothic absurdist morality tale, a dark horror fantasy and a retelling of an older story in the same manner of Jean Rhys's novel *Wide Sargasso Sea*, a feminist and anti-colonial response to Charlotte Brontë's novel *Jane Eyre* (1847). Thus, empire is not dead, and imperial policies and the devastation this leaves in its wake is as present in the 21st Century as it was at any period during the reign of the British Empire or the rule of any of the states which took part in the scramble for Africa, and as long as imperialism and Empire remain, both the Gothic and the vampire whether it be in Ireland or India will return from the grave, providing a timely reminder of the horrors of the past and the potential horrors that await us in the future, only one of which is within our capabilities to prevent.

Irish Gothic

Even a cursory examination of Irish literature highlights a significant number of Gothic authors from Stoker and Le Fanu to Oscar Wilde, who have unleashed vampires, demons and *doppelgängers* on the reading public. Such is their overrepresentation in Irish literature, cultural historians and academics with an interest in Irish Studies have attempted to unravel these hybrid and multi-layered vampires and monsters to explain cultural and societal woes, which existed both at the time of their writing and publication. Indeed even now in present day Ireland many postcolonial scholars turn their attention to vampires as metonymic figures associated with empire, colonial rule and subaltern agency. Jarlath Killeen's essay 'Irish Gothic: A Theoretical Introduction' examines the often controversial Irish Gothic canon, the existence of which is a point of contention. Killeen observes how Le Fanu's biographer and 'formidable cultural historian, W. J. McCormack' (Killeen), traces the origins of Irish Gothic in various obscure novels from the late eighteenth century, from authors like Regina Maria Roche's *Children of the Abbey* (1796), and 'following its trajectory through the writings of Charles Robert Maturin, Lady Morgan, Lady Clarke, Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, William Carleton, Oscar Wilde, Bram Stoker, W. B. Yeats, John Millington Synge and Elizabeth Bowen' (Killeen 2006). While this list of Gothic authors does appear to demonstrate a strong Irish canon of Gothic literature, a point McCormack had argued, Killeen notes how McCormack, in his study *Dissolute Characters*, suggests, 'that Irish Gothic writers did not create 'a definitive 'tradition' but merely mobilised the conventions found in English Gothic' (Killeen 2006). For McCormack the term canon created images of a chronological series of influential authors who drew inspiration from each other.

For McCormack this was a narrow construction that excluded external pressures and forces

destined to 'make Irish culture into an inward-looking and self-generating force, and suggest a coherence and formal and ideological similarity that simply does not exist between the texts and authors themselves' (Killeen 2006). Killeen observes that McCormack has a problem when it comes to traditional definitions of what a canon is or at least as to how it is perceived to be, as there is a:

> large gap of twenty-five years between the publication of Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) and Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's first novel *The Cock and the Anchor* (1845) (which was not a Gothic novel), and a further nineteen years before *Uncle Silas* (1864) arrived. Such a discontinuous line could be called a 'tradition' in only the loosest sense. McCormack wanted to complicate this idea of a tradition by examining what he called 'interventions' into literary history. As he pointed out, Balzac's *Melmoth réconcilié* (1836), rather than any Irish text, is the crucial connection between Maturin and Le Fanu.

> (Killeen 2006)

Killeen suggests that this Irish Gothic canon unwittingly resembles some of the central tropes of Gothic itself. Akin to a *doppelgänger* imitating itself, the Irish Gothic canon is a series of gaps, obscure paths and imposing promontories so that when considering an Irish Gothic canon one should not be hoping to discover a series of thematic links between different authors and texts but should consider that 'certain Irish writers pursued certain similar questions that were historically specific to the Irish situation, and in doing so they utilised the Gothic mode' (Killeen 2006).

Many critics point to the connection between Irish Gothic writers and colonialism in Ireland. McCormack, however, rejects this shared colonial psychology, arguing that authors like Maturin, Le Fanu and Stoker would not have experienced the burden of colonial history, either psychologically or otherwise, as Stoker and Maturin did not have landowning families and Le Fanu could legitimately claim a Gaelic ancestry through the Sheridans. Killeen

counters, however, that from a historical perspective 'psychological burdens do not always fall where they should' (Killeen 2006). Killeen continues to highlight that the Huguenot community was deeply involved in the colonial project taking place in Ireland. William of Orange had an army which contained a number of Huguenot generals, officers and four Huguenot regiments. The Williamite settlement was partially secured with the help of Huguenots so that the burden and blame for Ireland's colonial history is an ever widening one, and as such this 'burden is one of the main issues Irish Gothic revolves around' (Killeen 2006). It is the task of cultural historians and scholars of colonial literature to examine what connections if any exist between Irish Gothic writers and why Ireland in particular produced such a large and significant body of work with many of these Gothic works becoming literary masterpieces within the Gothic genre and beyond. Both Le Fanu's and Stoker's vampires have ensured them a legacy within not just Irish Gothic but Gothic in general. Stoker's *Dracula* has been regularly revised and reinvented in various media from Hollywood movie adaptations to a near constant academic presence within academic journals, monographs, books. In fact the book has become such a central part of popular culture that it is difficult to find any vampire related film, movie, television series or videogame that does not pay homage either directly or indirectly to Stoker's Count Dracula.

Roy Foster's *Protestant Magic* links Irish Gothic writing and a particular interest in the occult, supernatural and preternatural ideas as being 'Protestant in provenance' (Killeen 2006). Foster makes the point that W.B. Yeats only recognised his Protestant influences later in his life, and that Yeats' writing demonstrates how he had always been under Protestant influence. It is Foster's contention that Irish Protestants were well aware of their increasing marginalisation in Irish society, as well as being a minority within a large majority of Irish Catholics, many of whom were dispossessed by the very colonial powers which had given Irish

Protestants social prominence and wealth. This is an aspect already seen in Chapter One, where people like Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Philip O'Reilly and Rory Maguire were members of Parliament who 'can be classed as 'deserving natives' who had done well out of the plantation of Ulster' (Bartlett 20120, p.117), and Maguire had acquired land 'previously owned by the great O' Neill' (Bartlett 2010, p.117). These were called the deserving Irish and while they were a minority who had done well out of colonialism, they were very few. Foster also observes how as a wealthy Catholic merchant and middle-class developed during the period of the penal laws, in spite of rather than because of the business destroying laws, Catholics started to use their new found money and influence to take positions on municipal boards that had previously been held by Protestants. This marginalisation displayed how 'another, darker, side to the Protestant character has always existed and found expression in an obsession with the occult and the Gothic' (Killeen 2006).

Irish Gothic has a longer history than the nineteenth century when Le Fanu and Stoker wrote and published their work. McCormack cites the mid-eighteenth century as the origin of Irish Gothic, while Killeen located the origin of Irish Gothic 'in the mid-seventeenth century' (Killeen 2006). But as Killeen highlights, if the tropes and themes of Gothic literature are what defines the Gothic then one can trace the origins of Irish Gothic back to 'Sir John Temple's response to the 1641 rebellion' (Killeen 2006). In *The Irish Rebellion*, Temple collected and codified many of the arguments, images, fears, anxieties and uncertainty that would later come to define the Gothic, as proto-Gothic literature increased during the time of the Penal Laws when Protestant power was at its peak. And yet fears of rebellion and extermination became more focussed and can be found in the writings of men such as, Archbishop William King, who was constantly seeing 'Catholic ghosts and monsters lurking in the outer darkness' (Killeen 2006).

This suggests that the Irish Gothic is indebted to the events of Irish colonial history but that Protestantism becomes an important influence in the embryonic stages of Irish Gothic. As Killeen notes, while the actual power remained with Protestants and any feelings of that power receding or being erased were not true, the fear, however false, that its foundations might have been, was real. So much so that their paranoiac sense of marginalisation becomes an integral part of the colonial psychology of the Irish Gothic. The transformation of Catholics into both a colonial and Gothic Other, whether it is *Melmoth the Wanderer* portraying the Catholic Church as a circus of freaks and perverts or *Dracula's* Jonathan Harker dismissing Catholic religious ritual as superstition, is a common trope in Irish Gothic. However, Killeen notes that the 'Gothic analysis of Catholic monstrosity incorporates not only a disgust with Catholicism, but also an intense obsession with the Catholic, an obsession which often spills over into desire' (Killeen 2006). This remains true to Bhabha's theories of hybridity in which both the colonised and the coloniser are transformed into a third hybrid space. It is Killeen's contention that it was the combination of the Protestant fear of Catholics and Catholicism which causes the fascination with the supernatural and the occult so that Irish Protestants were attempting to examine and explore the Catholic Other which had been made rhetorically exterminated by the anti-Catholic Penal laws. However, the almost obsessive infatuation with Irish religion, rituals, superstition and beliefs became 'emblematic of an ethnographic encounter with a native population, and expressive of a means by which the Protestant Self can safely explore (and perhaps absorb) aspects of that forbidden culture' (Killeen 2006).

It is worth keeping in mind the dichotomy of English Protestants and Irish Protestants at this point. After all, there needs to be little explaining why the British mind or writer was so keen to represent the Irish landscape as a Gothicised space of uncertainty, monstrosity and supernatural savagery. Indeed, Killeen examines Catholics as monsters in the eyes of

Protestants in his book *The Emergence of Gothic Fiction* (2014a), and it is in this work that Killeen notes that the idea of Catholics as monsters was not just fear mongering by an anxious minority, but actually had a pseudo-scientific grounding as most Protestants in the 17th and 18th century considered Catholics to 'biologically impure and interstitial, and also sociological pollutants' (Killeen 2014a, p. 150). Even the Irish penal laws, often seen as political discrimination required 'swearing against Transubstantiation, [so that] a purely political reading of discrimination has always had a hollow ring to it' (Killeen 2014a, p.155).

But for Irish Protestants any attempt to turn Ireland into a Gothic space risked turning themselves into a Gothic monstrosity, an uncanny hybrid *doppelgänger*. Indeed, by the end of the eighteenth century the claims of Irish Protestants to English ethnicity were admonished by the British and 'included them in the general stereotyping of the Irish as weird backward perverts' (Killeen 2006). This led Irish Protestants to accept Irish ethnicity and 'attempted to reconfigure this identification as a positive rather than a negative marker of identity – which largely required denying Irish Catholics the right to the same nationality' (Killeen 2006). So why did Irish Protestants engage in anti-Irish Gothic literature? Given that they had renounced English ethnicity and, by default one could argue, had accepted Irish ethnicity? Christopher Morash suggested that this occurred as a sort of existential exorcism where Irish Gothic 'is not a celebration of the weird and the occult so much as an attempt to exorcise these elements from Irish society. Rather than accept the version of Ireland as Gothic, the traditional narratives of Irish Protestants attempt to find ways of destroying this image' (Killeen 2006). The Irish Gothic was then seen as a means to modernise Ireland and provide it with a status of a fully functional, civilised and enlightened nation leaving its dark superstitious past behind it, a mere footnote for future historians to dwell on before, like the country itself, moving on. Killeen, however, further complicates this cultural and ethnic contradiction by introducing Tzvetan Todorov's

definition of the fantastic whereby the person experiencing this supernatural event is faced with two choices, either accept that they are the victim of an 'illusion of the sense' (Killeen 2006), or else the event has occurred which implies that 'this reality is controlled by laws unknown to us' (Killeen 2006). Killeen asserts that it is 'this mode of hesitation, this psychological ambivalence, which Todorov believes central to the fantastic, is precisely what defines the Irish Protestant mentality' (Killeen 2006).

The Anglo-Irish were perfectly positioned to create and maintain one of literature's most enduring traditions, a tradition which emphasises hesitancy over certainty and which refused to 'dissolve binaries such as living/dead, inside/outside, friend/enemy, desire/disgust' (Killeen 2006). From another perspective, Raphael Ingelbien compares Bram Stoker's *Dracula* with Elizabeth Bowen's novels on the fall of the Big House in Ireland. Highlighting that Jonathan Harker runs around the empty rooms of Count Dracula's mansion, a mansion filled with valuable wonders of a bygone era, Ingelbien draws comparisons between how both authors take care to demonstrate how a sense of loneliness and desolate decay can become highly symbolic. Indeed, Ingelbien observes that when Harker discovers that Count Dracula has abducted a child from a peasant and fed it to his three vampire wives, it is Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729) which 'looms large behind this savage Gothic caricature of an aristocracy literally feeding on the infants of a helpless peasantry' (Ingelbien 2003, p.1102). Similarities also exist to the changeling phenomenon discussed in Chapter Two, as Joseph Valente highlights how the 'child thievery likely comes from tales of Irish fairies' (Valente 2002, p.52). Valente observes how these stories had been compiled by Stoker's friend and social mentor, Lady Jane Wilde, in her *Ancient Legends in Ireland*, published two years before Stoker began working on *Dracula*. W.B. Yeats' popular poem *Celtic Twilight* likewise 'helped to popularise the lore' (Valente 2002, p.53). This scene is also a crucial scene in terms of

binaries; Harker is both terrified and intrigued by the female vampires, hesitant/certain, desire/disgust and love/hate are all used to describe Harker's turmoil.

McCormack has identified the 'verbal intricacy […] represented by complicated oaths of loyalty, arcane or antique documents, and compromising last wills and testaments' (Killeen 2006), as central to the Irish Gothic. Dracula is an epistolary novel, made up of documents, journal entries and the work of Elizabeth Bowen contains a multitude of references to books, documents and libraries even if Bowen's own version of the Gothic was closer to the 'psychological terror and the neuroses that Le Fanu exploited than to the more sensational paraphernalia on display in *Dracula*' (Ingelbien 2003, p.1092). Bowen employed a variety of Gothic writing styles and devices as she explored the Protestant Ascendancy from inside her own family and society using 'Gothic undertones [which] often coexist quite naturally with a quasi-Jamesian observation of Anglo-Irish manners' (Ingelbien 2003, p.1092). Killeen states that this is a fitting symbol of the complex national and ethnic intricacies of Irish Protestant cultural identity as 'the tortuous verbal and plot convolutions of the typical Gothic novel were perfect representations of the existential gymnastics forced upon the Anglo-Irish by history' (Killeen 2006).

Killeen notes in his article how Morash has claimed that Irish Gothic always ends with an expulsion of the primitive past, keeping in line with Todorov's ambivalence representing the hyphenated Anglo-Irish who were embracing what they saw as Protestant rational, technological and futuristic reasoning. Killeen, however, disagrees and highlights that while *Dracula* concludes not with the death of Count Dracula but with the birth of Mina and Jonathan Harker's child, the expulsion that Morash refers to is never complete, as Jonathan and Mina's child is given a series of different names which represents a future in which the past has finally been laid to rest. *Dracula* places a heavy emphasis on blood, the loss of blood, the circulation

of blood, it is a pivotal symbol and plot device within the novel, Mina's participation in the drinking of blood is 'a perverse parody of the Eucharist' (Killeen 2006). Van Helsing suggests that a sharing of blood is a sexual act and if 'Dracula's blood courses through Mina's veins it must surely have been transferred to her new son' (Killeen 2006). However, one name is conspicuously absent, Mina was bitten by Count Dracula, so much so she becomes a hybrid, capable of seeing and hearing what Dracula sees and hears. In the novel they move as one, a theme illustrated in *Carmilla* when Carmilla tells Laura 'you are mine, you shall be mine, you and I are one forever' (Le Fanu 2013, p.33).

Both Le Fanu's lesbian vampire and Stoker's foreign vampire come from the East to invade the West. Count Dracula plans to leave Transylvania and live in London, where he hopes to slowly and meticulously colonise London by transforming them into vampires who will serve him. Le Fanu's Carmilla is returning to her homeland. A displaced victim of colonisation, she slowly murders her victims while openly talking about how she and her ancestors have been robbed by invading foreigners. Both authors demonstrate a willingness to show how the past can return to haunt the present. Even in modern times with modern technology and supposed enlightened thinking, Stoker's Count Dracula goes not just to the heart of the British Empire but the heart of modernity. Modernity is a theme which Stoker attempts to address within *Dracula*, this is reflected in the technological advances used in the epistolary novel, Dr Seward records his notes on a phonograph, Mina uses shorthand to communicate with Jonathan, the train is a vital source of transport to move the characters around the various locations they visit, blood transfusions and Kodak cameras are all used within the novel. *Dracula*, however, is not entirely accepting of modernity, the characters warn of the dangers of accepting modernity in place of older traditions. One of the facets of modernity was the liberation of women in the form of the New Woman; however, it is Mina with her dismissiveness of the New Woman who

survives and is the heroine who defeats Dracula, while Lucy is portrayed as the promiscuous version of the New Woman and is punished by being staked and decapitated.

Concealed Memories

A retrospective reading of Le Fanu's *Carmilla* provides an opportunity to examine some of the themes associated with the psychology of colonialism, and in this we can also attend to femininity and sexuality. These latter issues highlight the question of identity for Laura in her relationship with the female vampire, Carmilla. Laura and Carmilla are two forces who forge a third hybrid space that subverts the patriarchal and male kinship system into which Laura is born and accepts as the *status quo*, while subconsciously longing to break free of the patriarchal bonds imposed on her by Victorian gender-based ideologies. Laura and Carmilla's lesbian relationship undermines the patriarchal gender-based rules creating one of Bhabha's unhomely moments and demonstrating Bhabha's 'personal, psychic history' (Bhabha 2004, p.15). Carmilla has a hybrid role, acting as both the dispossessed victim of colonialism and the all-conquering colonial invader, as Le Fanu displays multiple historical layers through both characters. Laura's subconscious subversion of this patriarchal system is amplified when Carmilla arrives at Laura's home in Styria. Le Fanu's *Carmilla* is the first piece of vampire literature to feature a female lesbian vampire as the main protagonist. *Carmilla* began a transformation in art and literature at the end of the 19th century in portraying the vampire and especially their bodies as female; 'the female body itself was demonised…the function or dysfunction of the female body was juxtaposed with notions of the perceived threat of vampirism… and these notions were largely based upon a woman's association with blood as a result of menstruation' (Signorotti 1996, p.610).

Towards the end of the 19th Century, the phenomenon of the New Woman encouraged women to organise a grassroots movement and become politically active in their pursuit of the

right to vote and to have access to jobs outside of motherhood and the home. The New Woman movement and 'the *fin de siècle* emphasis on the importance of pursuing new sensations also, inevitably, led to sex and sexuality playing an increasingly important part in the search for new experiences' (Buzwell 2014b). And from our theoretical perspective, Le Fanu's choice to use two females, Laura and Carmilla, whose relationship is a direct challenge to heteronormativity, to create the dual identities that Laura and Carmilla possess throughout the book forms an important part of Bhabha's theories on colonial identity as 'a space of splitting' (Bhabha 2004, p.63). The counter-reaction against the New Woman movement was seen in English literature in the form of vampires taking on the role of the New Woman, a role which led to the violent destruction of the female body, and almost without exception being caused by a group of men with phallic symbols such as the stake or the Crucifix. Lucy Westenra in *Dracula* is an example of the New Woman being punished by a group of men plunging phallic weapons into her body. In this vein, Elizabeth Signorotti states that 'Stoker's "experiment" with Lucy reveals the unpleasant results of woman's attempting to escape male systems of exchange and usurping traditionally male power' (Signorotti 1996, p.624). Carol A. Senf notes how Lucy's physical appearance changes after being bitten by Count Dracula and because she no longer resembles the doe-eyed, softly spoken and subtly flirtatious woman the men expect her to be, their attitudes slowly change as they notice how strong and aggressive she is becoming. Lucy is no longer consistent with their traditional view of a woman, and their love turns to loathing as 'Arthur Holmwood plunges a stake into her breast and ends her vampiric existence for ever. It is a vicious attack against a helpless woman, but it succeeds in destroying the New Woman and in re-establishing male supremacy' (Senf 1982, p.44). Buzwell also highlights how Lucy does not just become an 'unnatural parody of the New Woman' (Buzwell 2014b), but her punishment has 'the horrific feel of a rape' (Buzwell 2014b).

The New Woman would become defined as a woman who was 'free-spirited and independent, educated and uninterested in marriage and children, the figure of the New Woman threatened conventional ideas about ideal Victorian womanhood' (Buzwell 2014b). This perceived threat to the ideal woman was met with reinforced gender stereotyping and often violent female vampire portrayals, which reflected the friction that the changes the New Woman movement was causing in Victorian society. The idea of a desired and desiring woman with no dependence on her male husband and with equal power in issues of voting and employment can be read as anticipatory of later twentieth-century feminist movements. The patriarchal system portrayed women via the negative symbol of the vampire, their subverted sexual promiscuousness, insatiable thirst for blood, lesbianism, non-existent maternal instinct and their existence outside the parameters of the patriarchal system coupled with their deeply un-Christian aversion to religious paraphernalia were all foreshadowing of what lay in wait for women who strayed outside the patriarchal structure. Buzwell highlights how male authors incorporated this into their work casting the 'New Woman as either a sexual predator or as an over-sensitive intellectual unable to accept her nature as a sexual being. Lucy Westenra in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) is an example of the former, while Sue Bridehead in Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* represents the latter' (Buzwell 2014b). Buzwell places Lucy in the 'New Woman gone wrong' category. It is, however, important to note that while the novel is dismissive of the New Woman, it is dismissive of a particular type of New Woman. Mina Harker is the type of New Woman which the novel approves of, she is ultimately the heroine who helps more than any other character to destroy Count Dracula but does so in a manner which is still faithful and loyal to her husband, Jonathan Harker. This type of New Woman is welcomed, one in which all credit is deferred to the men and whose reward for her heroics is marriage and children, as well as the rather self-congratulatory praise given when Van Helsing

notes, 'ah, that wonderful Madam Mina! She has man's brain, a brain that a man should have…' (Stoker 1994, p.281). *Carmilla*, however, provides a different female relationship, while Carmilla is violently murdered by men, there is evidence to suggest they did not kill her, and, arguably, it is Carmilla's footsteps Laura hears approaching her bedroom door at the end of the novel. Laura and Carmilla's relationship demonstrates Bhabha's mimicry, as Laura begins to mimic Carmilla physically and verbally, showing how mimicry is one of the most 'effective strategies' (Bhabha 2004, p.122) of colonial power. Laura and Carmilla subvert both colonialism and traditional Victorian ideologies on the role of women in society.

Carmilla explores the lesbian relationship between Laura and Carmilla without any condemnation and refuses to cast it as a virus or corrupting contagion that ends with the ambiguous destruction of Carmilla. In doing so, Le Fanu uses the female body as an allegory for empire and colonialism, a trope which has a long tradition. As Gillian Whitlock highlights: 'the female body has always been crucial to the reproduction of Empire, and deeply marked by it' (Whitlock 2006, p.306). Le Fanu creates a setting in which the male characters are powerless, exiled to the edge of the narrative and have no control over the women: 'Le Fanu's men suffer exclusion from male kinship systems because they are unable to exchange women' (Signorotti 1996, p. 611). Margot Gayle Backus explores how Carmilla represents a threat to the heteronormative status quo created by the men in the story. Backus highlights how Carmilla is decapitated, staked through the heart and burnt under a 'triumvirate of patriarchal authorities' (Backus 1999, p.133). From the moment Carmilla arrives at the castle, Laura's father foreshadows the disruptive influence that Carmilla represents when he says that he feels as if 'some great misfortune were hanging over us' (Le Fanu 2013, p.17). It is a feeling that turns out to be accurate, as Carmilla draws Laura further and further away from her father's control. As we noted above, the male figures are pushed to the edges of the narrative and remain

powerless throughout most of the novella. But Laura's father is not just powerless, he is also nameless, only referred to as 'Laura's father' throughout the text so that he is defined by his role.

Laura's father repeatedly attempts to account for Laura's behaviour as an unknown and untreated illness, but Laura does not want to be seen by the doctor, 'I would not admit that I was ill, I would not consent to tell my papa, or to have the doctor sent for' (Le Fanu 2013, p.55). This is mirrored by Carmilla, who has a distrust of doctors: 'doctors never did me any good' (Le Fanu 2013, p.39). As Laura and Carmilla are reversing gender roles, the men use medical terminology to try and cure the women from what they think is a fever and, which they later suspect is vampirism. Backus states that a number of rituals and ceremonies take place around the death of Carmilla, which show how the men regain control of the patriarchal power structure that existed at the beginning of the novella and now must be re-established at the end of the novella. When the doctor examines Laura, he says 'you won't mind your papa's lowering your dress a very little. It is necessary, to detect a symptom of the complaint under which you have been suffering' (Le Fanu 2013, p.64). For Backus, this is the 'reimposition of patriarchal authority' (Backus 1999, p.134).

Le Fanu imbues the female characters with a powerful feminine nature and, like the relationship between Laura and Carmilla, Le Fanu refuses to reverse either one, allowing both to become central axioms for the female characters. This is unlike *Dracula* where 'women are the casual victims of a male/male conflict and of a demonic or monstrous potential double of a male protagonist. Here, however, it is the female who is empowered, albeit temporarily and in a relation of otherness to a masculinist, bourgeois desired model of the nineteenth-century feminine woman' (Stoddart 1991, p. 30). *Carmilla* begins with a brief and ambiguous prologue, noteworthy for the fact that the narrator, reading Doctor Martin Hesselius' case-study notes on

Laura's story of her encounter with Carmilla, touches cryptically on the concept of 'dual existence, and its intermediates' (Le Fanu 2013, p.5). There are several intriguing if cryptic elements to the prologue. Laura is dead by the time this account was written, her father is deceased, and she has no siblings. Presumably the doctor too is dead. So, if Laura is not quite an orphan when the novella begins, she is by the end of it. The prologue is also noteworthy for establishing that Laura is not suffering some type of psychological condition which might cause her to hallucinate or fabricate any or all of the story she is relating to the doctor. She is described as intelligent, and the doctor has stated his ambition to refrain from adding or altering any reasoning or explanation of his own medical or otherwise to Laura's account, despite the fact that he considers this account to contain 'some of the profoundest arcana of our dual existence, and its intermediates' (Le Fanu 2013, p.5). The prologue ends with no attempt to expand further on the concept of dual existence and does not offer any conciliatory information on what Doctor Martin Hesselius meant, as the narrator has made clear that he has omitted the doctor's thoughts on Laura's experience with Carmilla, only giving Laura's side of the events that took place in Austria.

The fact that Le Fanu chose the concept of dual existence to introduce *Carmilla* is representative of the dual identities that Laura and Carmilla possess throughout the book and parallels Bhabha's description of colonial identity as 'the very place of identification, caught in the tension of demand and desire, is a space of splitting' (Bhabha 2004, p.63). This splitting leads to a doubling effect with each of the two central characters possessing dual identities, which form a colonial hybrid third space between Laura and Carmilla. This allows Le Fanu to use identity to deconstruct patriarchal systems and structures by reversing gender societal norms and exploring multiple identities while simultaneously creating colonial themes and imagery which are symbolically connected to colonial Ireland in a subtle and covert manner.

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As Julieann Ulin notes, *Carmilla*: 'contains a number of echoes of Ireland which emphasise the conflict within the landscape and also point to the title characters multiple and shifting identities' (Ulin 2013, p.50).

From the beginning of the novella, Laura defies the pre-written gender-based identity of a Victorian woman by describing how her lonely childhood and young adulthood erodes the hegemonic Victorian binary conventions by creating alliances with her governesses and her 'young lady friends' (Le Fanu 2013, p.9). This female coalition is a rebuke to the male kinship system, which deems women as property whose ownership can be transferred within a patriarchal hierarchy represented by the phallic symbol of the castle and its towers in which the women live. The castle becomes the dominant phallic symbol of the heteronormative rules that dictate the gender roles of men and women in society. From the moment of Carmilla's arrival the empowered woman and helpless male dynamic begins. Carmilla's mother is described as 'a lady with a commanding air' (Le Fanu 2013, p.20) and, later, when she is talking to Laura's father, it is with 'a fixed and stern countenance' (Le Fanu 2013, p.20). This is a reversal of the male kinship role, with the woman exchanging her daughter and attending to urgent business as opposed to the usual patriarchal arrangement designed exclusively for men. Carmilla 'unlike Dracula…is exclusively drawn to members of her own sex, thus sharpening her threat to the nuclear family' (Stoddart 1991, p.28). Backus highlights the familial connections within *Carmilla*, when Laura discovers a portrait of her mother's ancestor Mircalla, Countess Karnstein dating from 1698, the beginning of the Irish penal laws, she notes the almost identical resemblance with Carmilla, right down to the mole on her neck. It is here that Le Fanu's diction hints at the underlying themes, when Carmilla is first introduced to the reader 'she appeared lifeless' (Le Fanu 2013, p.18). But when the portrait is produced 'it appeared to live' (Le Fanu 2013, p.43). Backus observes how this indicates incest, seeing as

Carmilla is related to Mircalla and thus related to Laura. Backus also observes how Bertha Rheinfeldt, Carmilla's last victim, is also related to the Karnsteins through her maternal line, so that Carmilla is an insider pretending to be an outsider, and that Carmilla 'embodies the family's self-perpetuation through the intergenerational sacrifice of its daughters' (Backus 1999, pp.131-132).

At the beginning of the novella, Laura is under her father's control, living in a desolate *schloss* in Austria. The settings are described as 'the road, very old and narrow, passes in front of its drawbridge, never raised in my time' (Le Fanu 2013, p.7). Le Fanu's *Carmilla* creates a hybridity through both the textual and historical, using what Robert A. Smart describes as 'profound and provocative misalignments' (Smart 2013, p.12). The description of Laura's surroundings are one of the many misalignments in the novella, which pose questions regarding the displacement of language and the names of physical places. Laura describes a countryside dotted with a large cross, there is a ruined tower and there is an abandoned village nearby, a feature of rural Ireland which was common after the Great Famine of 1845. This fractured sense of location transforms a placid idyllic countryside into a contested land. Vincent Virga described the military survey of Ireland by Lieutenant Colonel Charles Vallancey, whereby Irish place names were replaced with English names as an 'eradication of history, a final act of reprisal against the obstreperous Irish, and the changed names created a further barrier between the Irish and the English' (Smart 2013, p.19). These misalignments create a deliberate paralysis, which displays a physical hybridity in the setting and landscape of *Carmilla*, thereby allowing the past and the present to converge. In the opening chapter of *Carmilla*, the description of Styria, its churches and crosses dotting the landscape and the ruins of old castles and graveyards in the rural countryside would appear to any Irish reader as a 'story set in Styria that looks more like rural Ireland' (Smart 2013, p.16).

This colonial superimposition is an aspect of Irish Gothic examined by Gibbons in *Gaelic Gothic: Race, Colonization and Irish Culture* (2004). Gibbons highlights how Seamus Deane explores *Dracula* as a colonial text, in which Count Dracula arrives in England on-board a coffin ship, the kind of ships which carried starving and diseased Irish away from Ireland during the Great Irish famine of 1845-1849. However, Deane then continues to figure Count Dracula and his empty mansion as a literary personification of greedy absentee landlords during this period of Irish history. This was described as contradictory by Joseph Valente who states that the vampire was 'either an agent of colonialism – *a la* Dracula the Ascendancy landlord – or one was the object of colonialism – *a la* Dracula the Irish urban lumpen' (Gibbons 2004, p.79). Gibbons, however, disagrees with this either/or definition of analysis, stating that the central issue in analysing 19th Century Ireland 'was precisely the links between the two, insofar, as it was the landlord class in Ireland that was responsible for the coffin ships, and offloading the remnants of the pauperized Irish peasantry onto the advanced working class of the metropolitan centre' (Gibbons 2004, p.79). Gibbons demonstrates how Irish Gothic is hybrid because it reflects the hybrid nature of Ireland's colonial past so that while original Gothic threats such as Catholicism and an aristocratic order were combined in the one social order. The paradox of Ireland was that both existed in the same polity but 'they were on opposite sides of the social spectrum' (Gibbons 2004, p.79).

In *Carmilla*, we witness just such fluidity of colonialism, it appears on one hand that Carmilla is the oppressed and Laura is the colonial oppressor. And yet Carmilla as a vampire is the invader and Laura is the victim being colonised. This fluid hybridity is not confined to the setting and, indeed, not just colonial Ireland, but to colonialism in a broader more international sense. This is evident in the fact that one unnamed and mysterious character appears at the beginning of the novella and is never seen, heard from or referenced by any of

the other characters. When the coach crashes in front of Laura's home, there is an unidentified figure in the back of the coach who is not introduced. The woman is described as: 'a hideous black woman, with a sort of colored turban on her head, and who was gazing all the time from the carriage window, nodding and grinning derisively towards the ladies, with gleaming eyes and large white eyeballs, and her teeth set as if in fury' (Le Fanu 2013, p.24). Backus notes how the description of the woman suggests 'a grotesque racial caricature, while her "coloured turban'' marks both hers and Carmilla's colonial origins' (Backus 1999, p.130). This mysterious figure encodes the repressed anxiety regarding colonial relations, as well as the ethnic and cultural differences within Ireland. Le Fanu places Carmilla and her rigid obedience to western European standards of beauty and etiquette adjacent to the unattractive, old woman who betrays the ethnic and religious differences in Ireland, while remaining visible only to the experienced eye (Backus 1999, p.130). This hybrid setting foreshadows the issue of fractured and imposed identity, which is continually developed throughout the novella in what Bhabha, citing Freud's theories on disavowal, calls the 'partializing process of hybridity [which] is best described as a metonym of presence' (Bhabha 2004, pp.163-164).

Laura's mother died during childbirth, and, as an orphan, Laura is part of a familiar Irish Gothic trope as within 'the Irish Gothic story, the orphan character is lodged within a doubled set of registers, one purporting to explain the missing pieces of the past, the other offering a reconstructed future' (Smart 2013, p.27). Just like the male dominance of a patriarchal society, the static frozen-in-time settings contrast with the energetic upheaval that Carmilla is to introduce upon her arrival. Laura and Carmilla's relationship grows stronger even as Laura tries to discover more about Carmilla and her family history. However, Carmilla refuses to share her family history, and this is legible as another attempt to disregard male authority given that family lineage was 'a primary concern in male systems of exchange' (Signorotti 1996,

p.614). Their relationship can be seen as a challenge to marriage and motherhood, the foundations of any patriarchal society, so that what became a reward for the female heroine in *Dracula* is disregarded in *Carmilla*. In this way, Laura develops her hybridity and explores the homosexual relationship that Carmilla offers as an alternative to the heteronormative patriarchy she has accepted as the *status quo*. Laura immediately expresses her psychological confusion about her identity at the beginning of *Carmilla*: 'my father is English, and I bear an English name, although I never saw England' (Le Fanu 2013, p.7). Laura's father is a wealthy English widower retired from service to the Austrian Empire. Laura lives in a *schloss* in a forest with just her father and maids to keep her company. Laura herself has a sense of dislocation; she does not see herself as English in anything other than name. The setting, the mysterious woman in the carriage and Carmilla herself can all be retrospectively read as colonial symbols.

In the first chapter, Laura provides a timeframe for the events which take place in *Carmilla*. At the time of the events taking place within her account, Laura is nineteen years old; her first encounter with the vampire occurred in a dream when she is six years old, and at the time of writing this account she is twenty-seven years old. Laura's first encounter with the vampire at the age of six years old is an important event: 'She caressed me with her hands, and lay down beside me on the bed, and drew me towards her, smiling; I felt immediately delightfully soothed, and fell asleep again. I was wakened by a sensation as if two needles ran into my breast very deep at the same moment, and I cried loudly' (Le Fanu 2013, p.10). No puncture marks are discovered when Laura's minders hear her cries and enter her bedroom and, although this memory is vivid for Laura, 'the scenes I have just described stand out vivid as the isolated pictures of the phantasmagoria surrounded by darkness' (Le Fanu 2013, p.10). Laura has forgotten everything about her life that occurred before the event: 'I forget all my life preceding that event' (Le Fanu 2013, p.10). This memory loss is what Freud would call a concealed

memory, which he describes as a 'peculiarity in the temporal relation between the concealing memory and the contents of the memory concealed by it' (Freud 2013, p.32). Freud believed that repression always returned, and even if the person was unaware of the repressed memory in his or her consciousness, it would remain there and find a way to break through to the conscious, as the person was 'obliged to repeat the repressed material as a contemporary experience instead of, as the physician would prefer to see, *remembering* it as something which belongs to the past' [italics in original] (Brill 2010, p.191). On a surface level, Laura's vivid memory of the traumatic vampire attack would appear to contradict Freud's theories on screen memories, where traumatic memories are replaced by less unpleasant memories. Indeed, it would appear that Laura has rejected, repressed and erased the most basic and, arguably, the most mundane memories and preserved with clarity the most traumatic and terrifying memories, upending Freud's belief that 'the earliest recollections of a person often seemed to preserve the unimportant and accidental, whereas … not a trace is found in the adult memory of the weighty and affective impressions of this period' (Brill 1995, p.32).

Freud highlighted this displacement of memory in 'Screen Memories,' where he proposed that this displacement of memory was in fact better termed as a replacement of memory. Freud noted that some of his patients who had experienced trauma reported having mundane memories, with no obvious reason, significance or value, stored in their memories and that these would keep recurring. Freud proposed that this was a result of memories that were too traumatic to be processed at the time. As these two opposing memories clash, it is the screen memory which conceals the traumatic memory: 'one of them takes the importance of the experience as a motive for wanting to be remembered, but the other – the force of resistance – this preferential choice' (Freud 2003, p.7). For Laura, however, it is not the vampire attack which is traumatic; arguably it is quite the opposite as she describes the vampire as having a

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'very pretty face' and using words like 'pleased wonder,', 'caressed me', 'smiling', 'delightfully soothed.' (Le Fanu 2013, p.10).

However, for Laura, what she has repressed is her past, the very essence of her identity. In keeping with Freud's theories, Laura conceals the traumatic memories of her orphaned childhood with the dream of her first encounter with Carmilla and the familial love of the vampire, which is a part of her history and family tree on her Hungarian mother's side of the family. Laura remembers all the events of her first encounter with the female vampire, but nothing before it, which might tell her 'something about who she is or anything after that might also provide some sense for her identity, particularly with regard to her maternal inheritance. The trauma of personal invasion has produced an erasure of memory that leaves her looking for – longing for – something to anchor her to her deceased mother' (Smart 2013, p.18). The female vampire in Laura's dream, acts as a surrogate mother to Laura, while also forcing Laura to experience a homoerotic encounter and simultaneously allowing Laura, for the first time, and at a very early age to transgress the heteronormative rules of a patriarchal society. The young lady in Laura's dream not only acts as a surrogate mother to her, but also makes her fully respond to a homoerotic arousal. The dream allows Laura to transgress the heteronormative boundaries which define her society and reveal to her a subversive set of multifaceted codes in the form of homosexual bonding. The dream itself provides another Freudian aspect to Laura's subconscious as she is told by her governess and the other women in the *schloss* that it was just a nightmare. But Laura believes that the dream was not a figment of her imagination but an actual event: 'I was not comforted, for I knew the visit of the strange woman was *not* a dream' [italics in original] (Le Fanu 2013, p.11). The women in the *schloss* display their doubts about the dream being a child's nightmare and, arguably, betray their insight into the history of Laura's family when they invite a priest in to bless Laura's room.

This revelation of the knowledge of Laura's dark family history, which she herself is not aware of, depriving her of her identity, is enforced by the overly protective measures put in place to ensure that Laura is never subjected to another attack from the vampire: 'The housekeeper and the two other servants who were in charge of the nursery, remained sitting up all night; and from that time a servant always sat up in the nursery until I was about fourteen' (Le Fanu 2013, p.11).

The dream is consistent with Freud's theories on the uncanny and further confirmation that the dream was in fact a reality, as both Laura and Carmilla recognise each other from Laura's dream. Freud's essay, 'The Uncanny', provides a theoretical perspective on how the familiar becomes unfamiliar. Freud proposed that the feeling of the uncanny is an old animistic view from when primitive people believed the world was filled with human spirits; and seeing something which we feel is uncanny is a residual effect left over from the animistic phase of human development (Freud 2013). This mirroring of the uncanny creates a foundation for Laura and Carmilla's female alliance which is developed throughout the novella as a method to subvert and break the heteronormative restrictions embedded in society by patriarchy so that the unhomely moment or event relates the 'traumatic ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence' (Bhabha 2004, p. 15). Freud advocates that this replacement of inanimate objects with something animate is linked to the ancient animistic view of the world, when primitive people believed that it was populated with human spirits which placed magic and power onto inanimate objects. This stage of human development left behind a residue, so that when anything we 'find "uncanny" meets the criterion [and] is linked with these remnants of animistic mental activity and prompts them to express themselves' (Freud 2003, p.147). Bhabha takes impetus from Freud's theories of the uncanny in relation to that which remains hidden or repressed returning to the present. Bhabha

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takes Carole Pateman's *The Disorder of Women* as an example of how *forgetting* in the public and private spheres is in itself a disavowal and this 'creates an uncertainty at the heart of the generalising subject of civil society, compromising the individual that is the support for universality aspiration' (Bhabha 2004, p.15).

Freud asserts that if psychoanalytic theory is correct, and negative experiences are converted into fear and repression, then this feeling of uncanny signals that the 'frightening element is something that has been repressed and now returns' (Freud 2003, p.147). When Carmilla returns to her ancestral home, she brings not just her own personal history but also Laura's, in two significant ways. The first way is via Laura's memories, previously forgotten now return, and secondly, Carmilla, as the ageless vampire, is an ancestor of Laura literally returning from the dead. It is this Le Fanu chooses to make visible. With the male characters pushed out of the narrative frame of the novella, it is the female characters who carry the story, like the dirty portraits which Laura's father has taken down from the walls to be cleaned. Le Fanu's diction is noteworthy here, the portraits have been on the wall for all of Laura's life, but she is seeing them for the first time because the 'smoke and dust of time had all but obliterated them' (Le Fanu 2013, p.42). Now the past is visible to Laura and the portraits are being 'restored to their places' (Le Fanu 2013, p.42). When the portraits are revealed for the first time, Laura exclaims how the portraits 'seemed to live' (Le Fanu 2013, p.43). The portrait in question is of Carmilla. The text and the diction Le Fanu uses brings an underlying feminist text to the surface, a forgotten narrative suddenly returning, and like the portrait of Carmilla having no frame, this text has no borders or boundaries. Bhabha states that making this sense of uncanny visible in the civil society 'disturbs the symmetry of private and public which is now shadowed, or uncannily doubled, by the difference of genders which does not neatly map on to the private and the public, but becomes disturbingly supplementary to them' (Bhabha

2004, p.15).

The return of Carmilla to her ancestral home is also the return of Laura's forgotten past, and it is a link to her deceased mother. The dead, literally, return to establish a link with the living and help set in action a series of events that undermine patriarchal rule and force both Laura and Carmilla to develop and discover their true identities. As Ulin observes 'in the duality of his construction of Mircalla/Carmilla, Le Fanu deploys the vampire not simply to invoke an initial invasion but to embody the hybrid identities and histories that exist within the same house' (Ulin 2013, p. 52). This colonial aspect to Carmilla is, according to Bhabha, neither the past nor the present, she is neither leaving the past behind nor is she moving towards a new horizon. As Bhabha states, it is in the *fin de siècle* where 'space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion' (Bhabha 2004, p.2). Similarly, Hansen explores the dream aspect of Carmilla and Laura's relationship from a Freudian point of view, suggesting that Laura is looking for a maternal figure which has been absent in her life. Furthermore, he suggests that when Laura and Carmilla both confirm to each other that they both previously had the same dream, thereby, confirming that the dream was in fact a reality, it is 'through the reverse angle of mirroring, Laura's nightmare transforms into Carmilla's fulfilling dream' (Hansen 2009, p.55). Laura desires a maternal figure and Carmilla provides this maternal Other. However, Laura's desire for a mother figure 'initiates and embodies the trauma. To wish for a mother—to reconnect with the maternal or indigenous line—in this context is also to wish for self-annihilation' (Hansen 2009, p.55). While Laura desires to see her face in the face of the vampire, it is the face of a vampire in an unframed portrait which displays Bhabha's mimicry as it brings colonial Ireland and Irish Penal laws into the analysis of *Carmilla*.

Bhabha describes mimicry as a metonym of presence. Mimicry occurs when colonised people imitate the culture of the colonisers. Colonial mimicry comes from the coloniser's desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is the same but different. Mimicry then becomes a sign of a double articulation; it appropriates the customs and traditions of the Other as it visualizes power. Bhabha sees mimicry as a double vision that highlights the ambivalence of colonial power, thus, disrupting its power. Bhabha states that it is a 'double vision that is a result of […] the partial representation/recognition of the colonial object [...] the figures of a doubling, the part-objects of a metonymy of colonial desire which alienates the modality and normality of those dominate discourses in which they emerge as inappropriate colonial subjects' (Bhabha 2004, p.126). This duality is hinted at in the prologue to *Carmilla* when Dr Hesselius states that his cases contain 'some of the profoundest arcana of our dual existence, and its intermediates' (Le Fanu 2013, p.5). That this is used to introduce *Carmilla* acts as a foreshadowing of the hybrid nature of the two protagonists that emerges in the narrative.

When Carmilla arrives at the schloss and Laura's father offers to house and take care of Carmilla until her mother returns, the dual identity and the formation of a third hybrid space becomes apparent. It materializes in the ways that Laura describes the changes in her own personality as well as signs of mimicry when she comes into contact with Carmilla: 'I took her hand as I spoke. I was a little shy, as lonely people are, but the situation made me eloquent, and even bold' (Le Fanu 2013, p.27). Nandy postulates that colonialism has inherent codes and 'the main function of these codes is to alter the original cultural priorities on both sides and bring to the centre of the colonial culture subcultures previously recessive or subordinate in the two confronting culture' (Nandy 1983, p.2). Laura is bringing a bolder more confident

psychological outlook to the surface, attributes which were, by her own admission, previously absent. Carmilla's colonial characteristics are revealed as she speaks of being dispossessed and of her fear of having her property taken from her: 'I confess my weakness, I am haunted with a terror of robbers. Our house was robbed once, and two servants murdered, so I always lock my door' (Le Fanu 2013, p.29). In this instance, *Carmilla* 'echoes readings of *Dracula* that view the vampire as enacting the horror of reverse colonization; Carmilla in this formulation takes revenge upon an Anglo-Irish ascendancy that has robbed her' (Ulin 2013, p.49). There is mimicry in the manner that Laura and Carmilla speak to each other: 'how wonderful! She exclaimed. 'Wonderful indeed,' I repeated' (Le Fanu 2013, p.27). Later on in the novella, Laura not only mimics Carmilla's obsessive habit of locking her bedroom door, but uses the language that Carmilla would use, evidenced in the use of the word, 'ensconced':

> I had adopted Carmilla's habit of locking her bedroom door, having taken into my head all her whimsical alarms about midnight invaders and prowling assassins. I had also adopted her precaution of making a brief search through her room, to satisfy herself that no lurking assassin or robber was 'ensconced'.
>
> (Le Fanu 2013, p.50)

The physical and verbal mimicry of Carmilla displays how Laura is being colonised by Carmilla and 'mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge' (Bhabha 2004, p.122). The subconscious forces and questions of identity within Laura react to the introduction of Carmilla's magnetic and external presence in accordance with Nandy's psychological definition that 'as a state of mind, colonialism is an indigenous process released by external forces. Its sources lie deep in the minds of the rulers and ruled' (Nandy 1983, p.3). Laura acknowledges the sexual advances of Carmilla: 'It was like the ardour of a lover; it embarrassed me; it was hateful and yet over-powering; and with gloating eyes she drew me to her, and her hot lips travelled along my cheek in kisses' (Le Fanu

2013, p.33).

Robert J. C. Young highlights how diachronically the term hybrid was associated with forms of social Darwinism, eugenics and 'the adaptation of evolutionary theory to ideas of racial supremacy and the extinction of races' (Young 2005, p.12). Young charts the transformation of the hybrid and hybridity from racial terms to terms that have 'become our own again. In the nineteenth century it was used to refer to a physiological phenomenon; in the twentieth century it has been reactivated to describe a cultural one' (Young 2005, p.5). Young also notes how 19th Century hybridity always carried the 'implicit politics of heterosexuality' (Young 2005, p.24). This was due to the fact that hybridity in the 19th century reflected the idea that races should be kept apart in order to avoid the 'mixed race offspring that resulted from inter-racial sexual intercourse' (Young 2005, p.24). In fact, homosexual sex was seen as advantageous to proponents of hybridity and the racial purity they sought as this type of sex 'posed no threat because it produced no children' (Young 2005, p.24). In *Carmilla*, however, the homosexual relationship with Laura is not the harmless, childless one that 19th century hybridity saw as bearing no threat. It can be argued that Carmilla can and does have children. Laura is bitten by Carmilla and therefore is certain to become a vampire on her death. As a vampire she will become immortal.

By the end of *Carmilla*, there are various vampires unaccounted for, the reader never learns what became of Carmilla's mother, the urgent business she was on is not revealed and there is no mention of her return. There is also no information on the third woman travelling with Carmilla and her mother in the carriage at the beginning of the novella, nobody mentions the third mysterious woman until after the horses have galloped away. In fact, it is Mademoiselle De Lafontaine who tells Laura that she noticed a woman who never left the carriage even when it crashed and described her as 'a hideous black woman, with a

sort of colored turban on her head, and who was gazing all the time from the carriage window, nodding and grinning derisively towards the ladies, with gleaming eyes and large white eyeballs, and her teeth set as if in fury' (Le Fanu 2013, p.24). Another one of Carmilla's victims is Bertha Rheinfeldt who presumably also became a vampire. Both of these victims are related to Carmilla, making them literally her own flesh and blood. All of Carmilla's victims are female, all of her relationships with these women mean that Carmilla's legacy will outlive her, her ancestral lineage will continue long beyond the lives of the colonisers who robbed her of her home. In this manner, Carmilla has left vampire children behind to complete the reverse colonisation that she has begun.

Laura is aware of the contradictory feelings she has for Carmilla, loving and loathing her in equal measure. She states: 'I was conscious of a love growing into adoration, and also of abhorrence' (Le Fanu 2013, p.32). In this context, Foucault examines how homosexuality in the 19th century became the defining feature of a homosexual, everything they said and did, and every action was seen in the light of his or her homosexuality so that 'it was consubstantial with him, less as a habitual sin than as a singular nature' (Foucault 1978, p.43). Foucault states that homosexuality when labelled as a psychological problem in the 19th century, it became transposed from practices of sodomy so that it became a 'hermaphrodism of the soul' (Foucault 1978, p.43). Throughout the text the words 'malady' and 'illness' are used to describe Laura's and Carmilla's behaviour. Foucault states that sex as an exercise of power is 'a determination on the part of the agencies of power to hear it spoken about' (Foucault 1978, p.18). The very act of Laura's and Carmilla's open discussion of their relationship becomes an act of resistance and signals how Carmilla's presence 'signals a temporal crossing of boundaries' (Ulin 2016, p.53). Carmilla's words, 'I live in you; and you would die for me, I love you so' (Le Fanu 2013, p.4), are one of many declarations of love they share with each other. It counters the argument

that homosexuality is an illness and is met with Foucault's theory that the determination of Laura and Carmilla to discuss their love for each other in such an open and detailed manner is part of Foucault's theory whereby homosexual love is given power when it is spoken through 'explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail' (Foucault 1978, p.18).

This point tallies with Leela Gandhi's discussion of the political ideologies of Edward Carpenter, an anti-colonial activist in *fin-de-siècle* and early twentieth century England. Chiming with our analysis, Gandhi identifies his politics and the use of homosexuality to create a colonial site of resistance, in order to portray homosexuality as a 'radical kinship' (Gandhi 2006, p.36), which subverts colonial and gender ideologies. Gandhi discusses Carpenter's anti-colonial views and his attempts to use his own marginalised position as a homosexual to attack both the laws of sexual difference and the hegemonic use of heterosexuality to define a civilised society. The notion that heterosexuality was a central tenet of a civilised society was a much discussed and written about subject at this time. From a historical perspective, the most influential work was Charles Darwin's *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871). Darwin's work led people like August Forel, Patrick Geddes, J. Arthur Thomson and Iwan Block to believe that civilisation was held together by the practice of 'consensual and pleasurable reproductive sex' (Gandhi 2006, p.49). Gandhi writes that Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* highlights the 'symbiotic relationship between sexuality and systems of alliance' (Gandhi 2006, p.42). This is demonstrated in Laura and Carmilla's relationship as they forge an alliance against their male counterparts, subverting patriarchy and marginalising the male characters so that they are pushed to the margins of the narrative and are powerless to stop the relationship.

In Foucault's words, this resistance produces 'cleavages in a society that shifts about, fracturing unities and effecting regrouping' (Gandhi 2006, p.43). Just as it is Carmilla's

versatility that ensures that she does not simply survive but thrive for centuries, she also demonstrates to Laura that there is a third way not just to subvert the colonial and patriarchal structures but to exist as a hybrid sexual being. And this is a point made by Carpenter when he states that 'the homosexual has a double or hybrid nature which enables him to perform and to reveal to society 'the wealth and variety of affectional possibilities which it has within itself''' (Gandhi 2006, p.59). Such versatility and hybridity are demonstrated when Carmilla and Laura discuss the fear of dying, and Carmilla states that 'girls are caterpillars while they live in the world, to be finally butterflies when the summer comes; but in the meantime there are grubs and larvae, don't you see--each with their peculiar propensities, necessities and structure' (Le Fanu 2013, p.40). Carmilla and Laura's relationship becomes an example of what Foucault calls 'new life-styles not resembling those that have been institutionalized' (Gandhi 2006, p.42). It was Foucault's belief that people did not fear the act of gay sex but the idea of a gay lifestyle, a lifestyle that is not institutionalised is a threat to the heteronormative lifestyle. It is this lifestyle which the patriarchal group of men cannot comprehend and will not tolerate, so they place it in a medical category.

When Carmilla witnesses a funeral procession and Laura blesses herself, Carmilla describes religion as 'discordant' (Le Fanu p.35), and she attacks religious tradition. This makes sense as organized institutional religions invest in and espouse the view that only social structures like marriage, the nuclear family, and, by default, heterosexuality can create an environment whereby the ills of society can be kept under control. As she does, she subverts the natural/unnatural binary when she declares: 'this disease that invades the country is natural. Nature. All things proceed from nature, don't they? All things in the heaven, in the earth and under the earth, act and live as nature ordains' (Le Fanu 2013, p.39). Carmilla, a lesbian vampire preying on female victims, literally creates a new species as she transforms humans

into vampires, changing the finite nature of humanity into the infinite reality of immortality as Carmilla's colonial past returns to seek vengeance on her colonial oppressors. This has parallels with the splitting Bhabha describes as being an essential part of hybridity, a splitting which produces hybridity and mimicry. Just as Foucault describes the history of homosexuality and its labelling as a psychological illness so that the 'sodomite had been a temporary aberration; the homosexual was now a species' (Foucault 1978, p.43).

Laura challenges these advances with her search for her identity when she asks '"are we related," I used to ask' (Le Fanu 2013, p.33). Laura's attempts to challenge Carmilla's advances show that 'a colonial system perpetuates itself by inducing the colonized, through socio-economic factors and psychological rewards and punishments, to accept new social norms and cognitive categories. But these outer incentives and dis-incentives are invariably noticed and challenged' (Nandy 1983, p.3). Despite Laura's many attempts, Carmilla refuses to share her family history with her, and Laura also maintains secrecy by not informing her father of Carmilla's midnight visits to her. Neither does she inform her father of the danger Carmilla poses, not just to Laura and her father but to the entire population of the town, as Laura suspects that Carmilla is responsible for the murder of young women in Styria. This rejection of information allows them to build a stronger relationship as they reject the patriarchal triumvirate of marriage, monogamy and family. Laura sides with the aggressor, Carmilla, as Nandy suggests that 'in the colonial culture, identification with the aggressor bound the rulers and the ruled in an unbreakable dyadic relationship' (Nandy 1983, p.7). When Carmilla is told by Laura's father that she is welcome to stay at the *schloss* as their guest, there is a hybrid linguistic duality which has parallels with the Irish language: '"Thank you, sir, a thousand times for your hospitality," she answered, smiling bashfully' (Le Fanu 2013, p.48). Ulin notes the subversive parallels of the grateful thanks with its Irish

welcoming greeting counterpart:

> there is an echo here of the Irish *céad mile fáilte* (one hundred thousand welcomes), which suggests that
> Carmilla is perhaps both invited guest and host…thus in the vampire Carmilla, Le Fanu offers not a distant
> stranger invited into the house or strictly an emblem of dispossession but an embodiment of the initial
> invasion and the mingled and spilled blood of its aftermath.
>
> (Ulin 2013, p.51)

Indeed, Laura starts to find confirmation that Carmilla is, in fact, a vampire, when portraits which Laura's father had sent away for renovations, are returned. Laura notices the uncanny resemblance Carmilla has to a distant relative, Marcia Karnstein. Carmilla says she might be descended from the Karnsteins even though the family died out centuries before. The portrait is significantly unframed and is dated, 1698; this is a significant date as it has parallels with an important period of colonisation in Irish history. Thus, one might read Carmilla as a: 'Catholic presence feared to be inextinguishable, personified by a woman whose house has been robbed, and who yet may rise to rob in turn. The imagining of Catholic Ireland restaging and reversing the original invasion' (Ulin 2013, pp.49-50). Hansen also highlights the significance of the date: 'The portrait's date, 1698, traces the maternal line to the general era of the Williamite confiscations and to the specific year in which Anglo-Irishman William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland* claimed that Ireland be considered a sovereign kingdom and that the English parliament had no right to legislate for the Irish people' (Hansen 2009, p.56). Not only is the date significant, but Carmilla's choice of words harbour a resonance of the Irish penal laws and the discrimination and financial hardship such laws caused. However, Carmilla strongly hints at recovery, recuperation and resurrection, she openly asserts that she is plotting to take back what was taken from her. The date provides a timeline for the events within *Carmilla*, and this timeline coincides with not just the Irish penal laws, but the Young Ireland revolution and the

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emergence of a strong Catholic merchant class which would eventually become strong enough to deplete and then overthrow the penal laws. Carmilla/Mircalla died (became undead) in 1698, during the passing of the Penal Laws; her final appearance occurs 150 years later (1848), the time of the Young Ireland revolt, and is described ten years later by Laura. Laura's account ends with her waking 'from a reverie […] fancying I heard the light step of Carmilla at the drawing-room door' (Le Fanu 2013, p.102). The timeline would place this at around 1858, in the immediate post-Famine period, and slightly pre-dating the Gaelic revival in Ireland, though near the time of the formation of the Ulster Gaelic Society in 1830, the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in 1876, and the Gaelic Union in 1880.

The rise and fall of Carmilla is reflected by the unique situation created by the penal laws that, unwittingly, produced an extremely wealthy and politically strong Catholic merchant class, which brought into existence a united and strong Catholic middle-class in Ireland. Irish penal laws passed by the Irish parliament in Dublin affected Catholic merchants in the eighteenth-century, banning Catholics from the iron-mongering trade, buying and leasing land for any longer than thirty-one years and participating in guilds. As Arkins notes 'during the eighteenth century no Catholic sat in the Irish parliament, and scarce one in a corporation or a guild' (Arkins 1912, p.258). Carmilla places great emphasis on how her health falters and how she is perceived as weak and defeated when people around her, 'I can scarcely walk as far as a child of three years old: and every now and then the little strength I have falters' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45). However, as restrictive and potentially crippling as the penal laws were, Sean Connolly and Maureen Wall both note that the penal laws did not hinder the development of a wealthy mercantile class of Catholics, with the latter noting that 'a petition from the corporation of Galway presented to parliament on 22 February 1762 stated that of the 14,000 inhabitants only 350 were protestant, and that the papists controlled the wealth and most of the trade of the

city' (Wall 1958, p.101). Irish merchants turned to grazing to create a successful Irish provision trade and exerted political pressure on legislators to introduce Catholic relief. Irish merchants like the Hennessy family from Cork created a vast lucrative mercantile trade system, with Charles Hennessy settling in the town of Ostend on the maritime edge of the Southern Netherlands to seek 'the opportunity to develop a mercantile network' (Dickson 2007, p.72), and Irish merchants like Thomas Ray built vast mercantile empires generating wealth and prestige. Carmilla states explicitly that despite being seen as languid and weak she is 'very easily set up again; in a moment I am perfectly myself. See how I have recovered.' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45). The last sentence contains a full stop and not a question mark, it is a statement of defiance of the rules designed to hold her back.

Various penal laws were passed by the Irish parliament in Dublin, which should have made it impossible for any sort of Catholic merchant or trade class to develop. The animosity against Catholics is evident in the passing of these laws and it is not hard to see why Arkins thought 'this system of exclusion rendered the growth of a Catholic merchant and artisan class an impossibility' (Arkins 1912, p.260). This concept of dispossession applies to Carmilla as she tells Laura of her fear of being robbed by invaders 'I am haunted with a terror of robbers. Our house was robbed once, and two servants murdered, so I always lock my door' (Le Fanu 2013, p.29). Throughout the novella, items belonging to Carmilla, and her family, are removed from the house and then returned, Carmilla's family portraits are taken from the house when she is not there and then returned when she has taken up residence in the house once again. The portraits are described by Laura as 'the smoke of dust and time had all but obliterated them' (Le Fanu 2013, p.42), but with the return of Carmilla to her ancestral home, not only are the portraits returned to the house but now they have been restored to their former glory and are 'living, smiling, ready to speak' (Le Fanu 2013, p.43).

This accords with the penal laws which banned Catholics from leasing land for any longer than thirty-one years so it made no economic sense for Catholics to till the lands when there was no guarantee they would profit from it. Instead, Catholics turned to grazing which delivered a quick return and this caused the growth of a great Irish provision trade which delivered wealth. However, now that Irish Catholics had found what turned out to be a substantial source of income, there was the problem of how to invest the money. The penal laws banned Catholics from the professions, so commerce and foreign service were the only routes through which Catholics could invest their wealth. As Arkins notes: 'the Catholic merchant must invest his money in commerce, become a miser, or emigrate' (Arkins 1912, p.265). Just like Carmilla's portraits being taken away only to be returned in a better state than they had been when they were taken, so too were the rights taken away from Catholics eventually returned. Catholics found themselves in a much stronger position not just financially but politically and socially; as the penal laws become obsolete, Catholics found themselves in positions of both power and influence and Carmilla's 'see how I have recovered' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45) can be read as a statement on the penal laws.

Just as Carmilla has a boastful defiance in her statements, so too did the Catholics most affected by the laws take on a more defiant and boastful tone. From 1717, Catholic merchants asserted that 'they had more correspondents in foreign countries than Protestants and they would not suffer Protestants to get a morsel of bread in Youghal' (Wall 1959, p.100). They now elected only Dublin merchants to represent them in the General Committee of Roman Catholics, which was the central organisation railing and protesting against the demands of the guilds. This nationwide unrest showed the newfound strength of Catholic merchants. The Catholic Relief Act of 1792 meant Catholics could enter Trinity College and practise law. Catholics intensified their campaign as a result and a Catholic Convention meets in Dublin,

December 1792, and agrees a petition for full equality. In response, the 1793 Act for the relief of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects of Ireland was passed and Catholics can vote, bear arms and participate in local government for the first time. The newfound wealth and strength amongst Catholic merchants were not restricted and was in fact strengthened by Catholic merchants abroad as seen by the rise of the Hennessy family who created mercantile networks in Ostend, Holland.

Carmilla's words take on a more colonial meaning when referring to the Irish penal laws, there is a colonial mimicry present when Carmilla says 'people say I am languid; I am incapable of exertion' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45). This could be read as a response to stereotyping of the Irish which was prevalent in the media at this period in history. Many of these caricatures not only depicted Irish people as ape-like hybrids but presented an image of Irish people being so lazy that they were a danger to themselves and others, as can be seen in the American political cartoon by Thomas Nast entitled *The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things*:
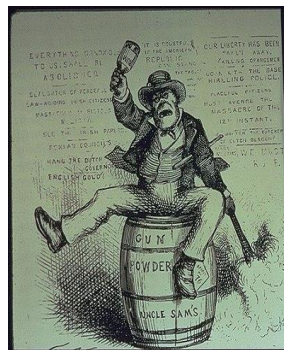
Figure 4. The Usual Irish Way of Doing Things. Source: Google Images.

The image depicts a drunken Irishman lighting a powder keg and swinging a bottle of alcohol. It was published on the 2nd of September 1871 in *Harper's Weekly*. These images were common and were not only disturbingly racist but in the eyes of many white people at this time, there was little difference between the Irish and black Americans, as this image from the December

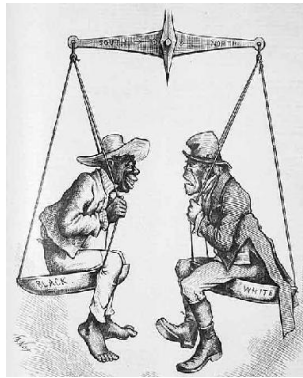9th 1876 front cover of *Harper's Weekly* illustrates:

Figure 5. Harper's Weekly Cover. Source: Google Images

While this cover suggests there is no difference between the Irish and black Americans there is of course the obvious difference of skin colour. No matter how difficult life was for the Irish, there was always the opportunity of social mobility. The hindsight that history provides bears out this advantage. While America still struggles with its slave-owning past and institutionalised racism is still prevalent in American society, while the Irish, like Carmilla predicted, have recovered 'but after all I am very easily set-up again; in a moment I am perfectly myself. See how I have recovered' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45). Carmilla's hybridity as a vampire and an animal, her binary opposites of dead/undead are the dual elements of her identity and closely mimic the racist imagery used to depict the Irish. Hansen notes how 'the Victorian scientific discourses of racial and natural history that began with Darwin allow Le Fanu to depict the Carmilla who haunts Laura's nightmares as regressing into animal forms' (Hansen 2009, p.56). The discovery of Carmilla's identity, and the revelation that she is an ancient colonial entity, confirms Carmilla as more than just the Gothic Other but also the colonial Other. Carmilla's hybridity is now multifaceted and revealed for all to see. She embodies an unholy trinity of vampire, colonised turned coloniser and, more importantly, a woman who

threatens the patriarchal norms. Carmilla is given the uncivilised, wild savage label so common in colonial literature as she is revealed as also being in possession of a literal hybridity in that she has the supernatural ability to shape shift into a cat as shown when Laura describes Carmilla's transformation into a 'sooty-black animal that resembled a monstrous cat' (Le Fanu 2013, p.50). As Brenda Mann Hammack highlights, the portrayal of bestial hybridity is not uncommon in Gothic literature, and it is frequently used to portray women as being insane by giving them the characteristics of wild animals: 'Among the best-known images of bestial hybridity from Victorian era are Charlotte Bronte's nightmarish descriptions of mad Bertha Rochester. When Jane Eyre first glimpses the Creole madwoman, she perceives a "clothed hyena" scrambling on all fours, then rising onto "hind feet."' (Hammack 2008, p.885).

Carmilla's ability to blend in and to change, not just from human to animal, but to live for centuries using different anagrams of her own name, creating new histories while still staying true to her family history and narrative, supports her unique talents at mimicry. She is at once weak and defenceless, strong and resurgent, nihilistic and optimistic, dead and undead. This is consistent with the description furnished by Bhabha on the power of mimesis and mimicry, he places mimicry in what Benedict Anderson refers to as 'the inner compatibility of empire and nation' (Bhabha 2004, p.124). Carmilla adapts and adopts whatever habits it takes to survive, to blend in, in the same manner that Count Dracula fears being seen as an outsider, a stranger. Carmilla too sees the danger in not camouflaging and acts according to Darwin's theories on mimicry and natural selection whereby all the variations which 'favoured its escape, would be preserved, whilst other variations would be neglected and ultimately lost' (Darwin 1859, p.60).

Hansen notes how Victor Sage also makes the connection to Darwin and the ultimate self-annihilation of the vampire and colonialism:

Victor Sage claims that the text stages an encounter between the Darwinian logic of late-Victorian imperialism and Christological superstitions. The Karnsteins, Sage explains, "repeat the sterile genealogy of a landowning class, which is nothing more than a heritage of suicide, destroying itself by preying upon the peasantry and then suicidally upon itself. In fact, the whole blood-line has committed suicide, and stolen its own future.

(Hansen 2009, p.56)

Through habit, Carmilla has adapted to the changing world around her, and turns the epidemics, which regularly swept parts of the world during this time period, to her advantage. When it comes to the mysterious deaths of her victims, she uses scientific reasoning to explain away the supernatural cause of the deaths: 'I used to think that evil spirits made dreams, but our doctor told me it is no such thing. Only a fever passing by, or some other malady, as they often do' (Le Fanu 2013, p.54). Here is an example of mimicry being used to subvert modernity so that it becomes what Bhabha describes as a mode of representation which emerges from mimesis and mimicry, an agency which 'marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model' (Bhabha 2004, p.125). The mimicry acquired through habit of observation and scientific reasoning hides her true identity and motives. Darwin notes how habit can play just as crucial a part in survival as any natural and innate ability, as he observes in some American monkeys which have long tails which have 'been converted into a wonderfully perfect prehensile organ, and serves as a fifth hand' (Darwin 1859, p.60). Darwin also highlights how, when harvest mice, which did not possess a structurally prehensile tail, were placed in a cage with a tree branch 'they curled their tails around the branches of a bush placed in the cage, and thus aided themselves in climbing' (Darwin 1859, p.60). These biological tendencies to form habits which provide aid and advantages to keeping the animal alive can be seen in Carmilla's behaviour and how it changes due to circumstances and

surroundings. Carmilla's newly discovered identity as the uncivilised, racial and primitive Other must be destroyed in the traditional vampire death of a stake through the heart and decapitation. This lends to the analysis that such subversive relationships as Carmilla and Laura's are always a minority which become suffocated by the dominant majority, and no matter how spirited a fight they might orchestrate they are destined to failure and defeat. However, Le Fanu states the mythology of the vampire as a creature that 'visits living people in their slumbers; they die, and almost invariably, in the grave, develop into vampires' (Le Fanu 2013, p.101). All of Carmilla's victims, including Laura, will rise from their graves after their deaths, resurrected as vampires and continue to develop radical and subversive plots to undermine and overthrow patriarchy.

When Laura and her father encounter General Spielsdorf, he tells them how his niece Bertha Rheinfeldt had been killed by a vampire called Millarca who escaped before he could kill her. It becomes apparent that Millarca and Carmilla are the same person. He is now in search of the vampire's resting place so he can avenge his niece's death by destroying the vampire. They travel to the abandoned town of Karnstein in search of the grave of Millarca. While Laura and General Spielsdorf are alone in the ruined chapel, Carmilla appears. Spielsdorf attacks her with an axe. Carmilla disarms him and vanishes. Spielsdorf explains to Laura that Carmilla and Millarca are the same person, both anagrams for the original name of the vampire Mircalla, Countess Karnstein. The landscape in which the story of Bertha and Millarca are revealed to Laura have symbolic colonial parallels:

> In this solitude, having just listened to so strange a story, connected, as it was, with the great and titled
>
> dead, whose monuments were moldering among the dust and ivy round us, and every incident of which
>
> bore so awfully upon my own mysterious case – in this haunted spot, darkened by the towering foliage that
>
> rose on every side, dense and high above its noiseless walls – a horror began to steal over me.

For Laura, this is the horror of the past as a powerful agent impacting on the present. Significantly, Freud's belief that what is repressed always returns is given a colonial twist in *Carmilla*, as the colonial past returns not just to haunt the present but to re-enact and reverse the events which have taken place. Carmilla is 'structurally re-enacting Ireland's colonial origin story of an invited invasion through a figure that embodies mixed and spilled blood' (Ulin 2013, p.53). The male-led destruction of Carmilla's body at the end of the novel is the typical violent destruction of the female body. However, it does not have the definitive conclusion that Stoker gave to both the destruction of Lucy and Count Dracula himself. The story has revealed that once bitten the victim is destined to become a vampire, and that the victim will be visited by the ghost of the vampire 'that specter visits living people in their slumbers' (Le Fanu 2013, p.101). This creates ambiguity over both Laura and Bertha who were both bitten. Laura has irreversibly changed, everything that Carmilla represented: hybridity, sexual liberation, freedom from patriarchal structures and the power of feminine nature, remain in place as Laura has not married and does not have any children. Le Fanu does not reverse this, more importantly the female allegiance Carmilla represented is stronger than ever. Carmilla herself might be dead, but her legacy is not, as she is replaced by two more in Bertha and Laura who at the end of *Carmilla* describes hearing '…the light step of Carmilla at the drawing room door' (Le Fanu 2013, p. 102). The words of Carmilla whispered to Laura return with a new unforeseen prominence and prophecy, 'her soft cheek was glowing against mine. '"Darling, darling," she murmured, "I live in you; and you would die for me, I love you so"' (Le Fanu 2013, p.45).

The 'I live in you' line represents the triumvirate of their love, their ancient familial connection as Carmilla's blood literally runs through Laura's veins, and the slow colonisation of Laura by Carmilla which begins Laura's development of her hybrid identity. The dramatic

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line and declaration of love has echoes of another landmark Gothic novel with colonial elements, Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847). In the latter we hear Catherine Earnshaw declare her passionate and undying love for Heathcliff with the famous line: 'I am Heathcliff!' (Brontë 2007). *Wuthering Heights* displays the same philosophical themes of eternal love and transcendence beyond time as *Carmilla* does when Catherine Earnshaw states: 'My great thought in living is himself. If all else perished, and he remained, I should still continue to be. And if all else remained, and he were annihilated, the universe would turn to a mighty stranger -- I should not seem a part of it' (Brontë 2007). Catherine Earnshaw imbues Heathcliff with God-like eternal love that transcends time and space, which may seem at odds with a character often read as a violent, manipulative anti-hero. Yet still the reader retains a considerable feeling of sympathy, just as Catherine does: 'he shall never know how I love him; and that not because he's handsome, Nelly, but because he's more myself than I am. Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same; and Linton's is as different as a moonbeam from lightning, or frost from fire' (Brontë 2007).

Kant writes that people consistently believe themselves to be exempt from the natural order, that the belief that beauty itself is limited, but the sublime is limitless, that the mind in the presence of the sublime attempts to imagine a fantasy that it simply cannot conceive of, that there is pain in this failure to imagine but it creates pleasure in contemplating the immensity of the attempt 'even after the theoretical cognition of ourselves has failed to establish the necessity of an existence after death' (Kant 2007). There is a sense of such sublimity in the relationship between Catherine and Heathcliff, particularly after Catherine's death. Heathcliff begs Catherine to haunt him in the novel, he orders her coffin to be broken in such a manner that when he does die he will be buried beside her and her body will, literally, rest with his. Towards the end of the novel the ghosts of Heathcliff and Catherine haunt the moors as their Gothic love

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story transcends time and extends into the afterlife. We can identify a similar sublime effect in *Carmilla* between the eponymous Carmilla and Laura, as the vampire has the ability to survive the destruction of their body. General Spielsdorf hints at the power of the vampire to remain long after they are gone: 'One sign of the vampire is the power of the hand. The slender hand of Mircalla closed like a vice of steel on the General's wrist when he raised the hatchet to strike. But its power is not confined to its grasp; it leaves a numbness in the limb it seizes, which is slowly, if ever, recovered from' (Le Fanu 2013, p.102). The power of the past to shape the present is paralleled in the power of the vampire, and is symbolic of the power of colonialism, the effects of which do not end with the alien occupying force leaving but reverberates throughout history written in blood as well as ink. And this is acknowleged in *Carmilla* by General Spielsdorf when speaking of Carmilla's family: 'It was a bad family, and here its bloodstained annals were written…it is hard that they should, after death, continue to plague the human race with their atrocious lusts' (Le Fanu 2013, p.85).

In concluding her story of Carmilla, Laura recognises the repetition and reproduction that colonialism disguised as vampirism must obey: 'The vampire is, apparently, subject, in certain situations, to special conditions. In the particular instance of which I have given you a relation, Mircalla seemed to be limited to a name which, if not her real one, should at least reproduce, without the omission or addition of a single letter, those, as we say, anagrammatically, which compose it' (Le Fanu 2013, p.100). Whatever name the vampire or colonialism takes there is the rule of repetition and re-enactment of invasion and violence; as Ulin aptly notes in her own anagram of Carmilla's name 'so too, then, does Ill Carma, a diseased cycle of retribution and bloodshed which continues to reproduce and cannot be eradicated' (Ulin 2013, p.53). *Carmilla* displays colonial hybridity and a dual existence within the two central characters. Laura searches for the identity denied to her by the absence of her deceased mother and finds her

hidden familial identity with her ancestral relative Carmilla. Carmilla is the past which returns to haunt the present and offers Laura a way to explore her mother's dark and hidden side of her vampiric identity. Laura sides with the aggressor when she is seduced by Carmilla and through mimicry and invasive colonisation she takes on aspects of Carmilla, slowly transforming and adapting the language, habits and behaviour of Carmilla.

Their lesbian relationship creates a third hybrid space for her, which leaves her permanently changed having rejected patriarchal norms of marriage and children. Le Fanu leaves Laura patiently waiting for her lover, Carmilla to return: 'To this hour the image of Carmilla returns to memory with ambiguous alternations – sometimes the playful, languid, beautiful girl; sometimes the writhing fiend I saw in the ruined church; and often from a reverie I have started, fancying I heard the light step of Carmilla at the drawing room door' (Le Fanu 2013, p.102). The hybrid Carmilla who identifies herself as anagrams of her own name: Carmilla, Mircalla, Marcia, represents both the Irish Catholic dispossessed and the invader, she is both the guest and the host, an insider pretending to be an outsider within Laura's environment. Carmilla represents hybridity and immortality of not just her physical body but of the immortal conflict that colonialism has caused to reverberate throughout not just Irish but world history. In Chapter Four, Bram Stoker's *Dracula* will continue the examination of colonial vampires, revolution and rebellion as reverse colonization, hybrid religions, and the hybrid journeys that the characters endure will demonstrate how Stoker has created a unique and enduring legacy which is considered by many critics and readers alike to be a masterpiece of Gothic fiction.

Colonial Hybridity: Stoker, Harker and the New Woman

Abraham 'Bram' Stoker was born in Dublin, Ireland, on the 8th November 1847. He is best known for his 1897 Gothic novel, *Dracula*. Stoker took a keen interest in Irish politics and was a member of the Protestant Church of Ireland. He was a supporter of Home Rule for Ireland, and *Dracula* is often seen as a colonial statement on Irish-English relations, as noted by John Wilson Foster, in his introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to the Irish Novel*: '*Dracula*, has been read as a covert or subliminal text on English-Irish relations in general, and the degeneracy and delinquency of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy landlords in particular' (Foster 2006, p.9). His parents were Abraham Stoker, from Dublin, and Charlotte Mathilda Blake Thornley, who was raised in County Sligo. Stoker was the third of seven children. Abraham Sr. and Charlotte were members of the Church of Ireland parish of Clontarf and attended the parish church with their children, who were baptised there. Abraham Sr. was a senior civil servant. Charlotte Stoker was a survivor of the great cholera epidemic of 1832, and wrote extensively in her journals of the horror and death that cholera inflicted upon her home town of Sligo.

The Site of Ambivalence

Stoker's mother, Charlotte, was fourteen years old when the first death by cholera was reported in Sligo on the 11th August 1832. According to Charlotte, a sudden storm preceded the first cholera death in Sligo and her account corresponds with that of prominent Sligo historians, William G. Wood-Martin and Terrence O'Rorke, who reported on the epidemic. Wood-Martin

wrote that the news of the first death 'had been preceded by thunder and lightning, accompanied with a hot, close atmosphere' (Wood-Martin 1892). Curiously, this is a scene replicated in *Dracula* as the 'greatest and suddenest storms on record has just been experienced here, with results both strange and unique' (Stoker 1994, p.95), announces the arrival of Count Dracula to England and 'it appears that Bram, an avid library researcher, additionally consulted Wood-Martin's account' (McGarry 2018) as the ship carrying Dracula arrives in England and he claims his first victim on English soil on the 11th August.

Charlotte Stoker would later write *Experiences of the cholera in Ireland* (1873), which is kept in the manuscripts section of Trinity College Library, Dublin. This work has been made publicly available via various academic articles, as the work of Charlotte Stoker is examined by academics in relation to the epidemic itself and to the Gothic writings of her son, Bram. Charlotte describes how people were terrified of cholera and 'its utter strangeness and man's want of experience or knowledge of its nature' (Stoker 2017). Just as people in Ireland in 2020 watched Covid-19 emerge out of Wuhan, China before overwhelming the healthcare systems of Italy and Spain, so too did the Irish people of 1832 watch as 'gradually the terror grew on us, as time by time we heard of it nearer and nearer. It was in France, it was in Germany, it was in *England*, and (with wild affright) we began to hear a whisper pass "*It was in Ireland*"' [italics in original] (Stoker 2017). Charlotte observed how a traveller on the verge of death had approached the town of Sligo and the people 'dug a pit and with long poles pushed him living into it and covered him up alive' (Stoker 2017). Just as the vampires in *Dracula* became the undead and rose from their graves, Charlotte describes numerous accounts of people being buried alive and how 'in a very few days the town became like a City of the Dead' (Stoker 2017). She also tells of how people, who were presumed dead, rose from their graves. Charlotte describes how a man, who was known as Long Sergeant Cullen, a soldier who had cholera and

was believed to be dead was placed in a coffin. However, the coffin was too small and the men attempting to put him in his coffin 'took a big hammer to break his legs, to make him fit, and the first blow roused the Sergeant from his stupor, and he started up and recovered. I have often and often seen the man afterwards' (Stoker 2017).

Charlotte Stoker also describes how a man brought his wife to a hospital on his back and:

she being in great agony, he tied a red neck-handkerchief tightly round her waist to try and relieve the pain. When he came in the evening, he heard she was dead lying in the dead house. He sought her body to give it a more decent burial than could be given there, (the custom was to dig a large trench, put forty or fifty without coffins, throw lime on them and cover the grave). He saw the corner of his red handkerchief under several bodies, which he removed, found his wife and found that there was still life. He carried her home, and she recovered and lived many years.

(Stoker 2017)

The image of the dead rising from their graves has similarities with vampires rising from their coffins in *Dracula*, just as the image of the stake and hammer used to kill the vampires bare a significant resemblance to Sergeant Cullen. The disruption of funeral traditions was as prevalent in 1832 as they were in 2020, as Covid-19 meant the deceased were placed in body bags before being put in their coffins and social distancing meant numbers at funeral services were limited, while wakes were cancelled. The handling of money in 1832 was a problem shared with Covid-19 as Charlotte's father becomes ill and needs a jug to fill with cholera preventive medicine (a mixture of whiskey and ginger) and they ask a woman for the use of her jug and 'the woman gave it but on being returned she broke it in pieces and when offered money said that if we left it on the roadside, she would take it up after a while, but feared to touch anything from our hands' (Stoker 2017). Coins and the potential they have to carry contagion is an accusation that Bridget Cleary was accused of when witnesses alleged she

rubbed a coin on the inside of her thigh in Chapter Two. For Bhabha, this ambivalence between the hybridised texts of Charlotte Stoker's account of the cholera epidemic and Bram Stoker's *Dracula* means that it is possible to 'calculate the traumatic impact of the return of the oppressed - those terrifying stereotypes of savagery, cannibalism, lust and anarchy which are the signal points of identification and alienation, scenes of fear and desire, in colonial texts' (Bhabha 2004, p.104).

A dramatic scene in Charlotte's account of the cholera epidemic is the vivid description of their neighbours, on both sides of them, dying from cholera and 'on one side, a little girl called Sheridan was left alone sick, and we could hear her crying. I begged my Mother's leave to help her. She let me go with many tears. Poor Mary died in my arms an hour after and I returned home, and being well fumigated, was taken in and escaped' (Stoker 2017). The terror of a child in danger is replicated in Dracula's castle, when Harker becomes aware of the fact that Dracula has left the castle at night, climbing down the side of the crumbling old castle before abducting a child belonging to a peasant woman. Harker hears strange noises coming from Dracula's room: 'I heard something stirring in the Count's room, something like a sharp wail quickly suppressed; and then there was silence, deep, awful silence, which chilled me' (Stoker 1994, p.60). Later the woman turns up at the door of the castle and demands 'monster, give me my child!' (Stoker 1994, p.61). Dracula appears from the window of his room and orders his wolves to kill the woman. For Harker, however, the terror of the abducted child is not yet over, as when he explores Dracula's castle looking for some way to escape or a way to kill Dracula, he finds Dracula's three vampire wives and he is almost killed by them before Dracula intervenes. Disappointed that they did not get to drink the blood of Harker, they ask of Dracula:

> "Are we to have nothing to-night?" said one of them, with a low laugh, as she pointed to the bag which he
> had thrown upon the floor, and which moved as though there were some living thing within it. For answer

he nodded his head. One of the women jumped forward and opened it. If my ears did not deceive me there was a gasp and a low wail, as of a half-smothered child.

<div align="right">(Stoker 1994, p.53)</div>

The threat to children is a vampire trait within *Dracula*. When Lucy Westenra becomes a vampire, after being bitten by Dracula, she resorts to abducting children on the Heath as a food supply, a fact Stoker establishes with newspaper reports on the missing children, with the reports describing how 'during the past two or three days several cases have occurred of young children straying from home or neglecting to return from their playing on the Heath. In all these cases the children were too young to give any properly intelligible account of themselves, but the consensus of their excuses is that they had been with a "bloofer lady."' (Stoker 1994, p.213). The bloofer lady being the beautiful lady, Harker and his friends soon link the doomed Lucy to the missing children and manage to save one of the children when they track down Lucy, and destroy her in the tomb in a graveyard 'one more so small child was missing, and we find it, thank God, unharmed amongst the graves' (Stoker 1994, p. 250). It is certainly a possibility that the image of his fourteen-year-old mother trying to provide comfort and solace to a dying child became a subject of horror and death, which he would later use to great effect in *Dracula*. We can read Stoker's impressions of his mother's accounts of horror in terms of Bhabha's assertion that 'remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful remembering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present' (Bhabha 2004, p.90). That Stoker may have been influenced by the experiences of his mother during the cholera epidemic could be seen as an attempt by Stoker to reach into his family's past and retrieve traumatic memories to make sense of the modernity he felt was encroaching on traditional beliefs in the present day and the dangers some aspects of modernity possessed.

Perhaps, one of the more interesting accounts of the cholera outbreak is the description of Charlotte's journey from Sligo to a house belonging to her cousin in Donegal. However, when the family arrived they were 'met and stopped by a mob of men armed with sticks, scythes and pitchforks and headed by a Doctor John Shields who was half mad' (Stoker 2017). Charlotte's family were ordered out of their carriage and left on the side of the road, as Charlotte noted 'fear had maddened them'. Jonathan Harker also takes a coach into the countryside and he too is confronted by people made mad by fear and Harker translates their whispered fearful phrases as '"Ordog"—Satan, "pokol"—hell, "stregoica"—witch, "vrolok" and "vlkoslak"—both of which mean the same thing, one being Slovak and the other Servian for something that is either were-wolf or vampire' (Stoker 1994, p.14). Refused entry by the angry mob, Charlotte and her family were abandoned until their Uncle heard of their predicament and rescued them. Harker too is abandoned when Dracula fails to collect him, his coach driver offers to return him to the safety of the town but Dracula's driver appears and forcefully takes Harker. Charlotte's Uncle carries them in his carriage but their arrival had not gone unnoticed and they 'found the square where we entered full of men, *howling* like devils. In a trice, ourselves and our luggage were taken (or rather torn) from the carriages, the luggage was piled up in the centre of the square, we placed on it and a cry went out *'fire to burn the cholera people'* [italics in original] (Stoker 2017). Jonathan Harker also hears howling on his journey towards Dracula's castle, in fact, Stoker uses the word howl nine times in quick succession during Harker's journey.

One other aspect of Harker's journey is the mysterious blue light he sees in the darkness 'I saw a faint flickering blue flame' (Stoker 1994, p.22). Charlotte too sees lights at night in 1832, as she describes how at 'night many tar barrels and other combustible matters used to be burned along the streets to try and purify the air, and had a weird unearthly look, gleaming out in the darkness' (Stoker 2017). This attempt to eradicate toxins from the air had the opposite effect

on the area around Sligo, as Charlotte describes how there were days when they 'could see a heavy sulphurous looking cloud hang low over the town, and we heard that the birds were found dead on the shores of Lough Gill' (Stoker 2017). The image of dead birds is found in *Dracula* through the character of Renfield, an inmate at the lunatic asylum being managed by Dr John Seward. Seward diagnoses Renfield as suffering from delusions which compel him to eat living creatures in the hope of obtaining their life-force for himself. Renfield starts with flies and other small insects, which are easy to obtain and then develops a plan whereby he begins to feed the flies to spiders, and the spiders to birds, in order to accumulate more and more life. When denied a cat to accommodate the birds, he eats the birds himself, with Seward noting that 'the attendant has just been to me to say that Renfield has been very sick and has disgorged a whole lot of feathers. "My belief is, doctor," he said, "that he has eaten his birds, and that he just took and ate them raw!"' (Stoker 1994, p.89). Seward had earlier checked on Renfield and asked him where all the birds had disappeared to and Renfield insisted that they had simply flown away but Seward notes how there 'were a few feathers about the room and on his pillow a drop of blood' (Stoker 1994, p.89). Apart from dead birds on the shores of Lough Gill, it is the presence of dead birds in Charlotte's backyard which serve as the macabre omen that forces Charlotte's parents to abandon their home in Sligo and head towards their cousin's house in Donegal for safety as 'early on the morning on the fourteenth day, my Mother heard a great commotion among the poultry in the back yard, and going out found several of them dead or dying. We came in and said it is time for us to go pack up' (Stoker 2017).

Just as Harker arrives safely (for the time being) at Count Dracula's castle, Charlotte also reaches her destination safely at her cousin's house, even though a mob follows them to the house, they lock themselves inside:

We were declared free from cholera so far, but the house was put into quarantine, and no one let out for some days. At the end of that time we abode in peace, till the plague was abated, and we could return to Sligo, where we found the streets grass-grown and 5/8ths of the population dead.

(Stoker 2017)

Similarly, Harker is a prisoner within Dracula's castle trying to get out, and Charlotte and her family locked themselves into their cousin's home while the lawless mob tries to force them out. Charlotte's family survive the outbreak of cholera and many historians have put this down to the possibility that the Thornley property had a private well which saved them from the illness. Clean drinking water prevented cholera, just as holy water kept vampires at bay. There is no doubt a meticulous researcher such as Bram Stoker researched the cholera outbreak after hearing the stories from his mother. When his mother moved to France, Stoker 'asked his mother to type up her Sligo cholera stories of premature burial and send them to him' (Magnier 2019). But just as Harker looks in the mirror and sees only his own reflection and not the face of Dracula standing behind him, perhaps it is Stoker's intention that we read *Dracula* and only see the merest shadow of the past behind the text. The memories Stoker possessed of his mother's experiences of cholera is part of Bhabha's psychic image of identification in which identity is never complete. For Bhabha this psychic image marks the site of ambivalence, it is at this point where Bhabha states that identity is always 'spatially split – it makes present something that is absent – and temporally deferred: it is the representation of a time that is always elsewhere' (Bhabha 2004, p.73). Bhabha states that the ability of the human mind to be in a constant process of remembering and forgetting is natural 'because the play of memory is iterative and interruptive' (Schulze-Engler *et al* 2018, p.710). So thoughts and memories of the past and even the immediacy of the present moment is a process that we need to provide a type of barrier and balance from going too far in either remembering or forgetting and it is this

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'fibrillation of remembering-forgetting that we need to maintain because otherwise […] we can become biased on the side of remembering, or we can turn evil on the side of forgetting (Schulze-Engler et al 2018, p.712). Stoker's knowledge of his mother's experience of the cholera epidemic in Sligo in 1832 almost certainly played a part in the creation of *Dracula* just as other aspects of Irish mythology and folklore can be seen within the novel as will be highlighted in the following pages. Just as the process of remembering to forget is demonstrated in the origins of *Dracula* so too is the colonial hybridity in this multi-faceted epistolary Gothic novel.

A retrospective analysis of Stoker's *Dracula*, using Bhabha's theories on colonial hybridity, demonstrate how the creation of Bhabha's Third Space of Enunciation denotes the end of a hybrid journey for the central characters in the novel. Stoker, through the main characters of Jonathan and Mina Harker, uses sexuality, gender and the *doppelgänger* to construct a third colonial hybridity, which Bhabha describes as creating 'a contingent, borderline experience *in-between* colonizer and colonized' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, pp. 295-296). Stoker uses gender reversal in terms of his male and female characters, as both Jonathan Harker and his nemesis Count Dracula possess this hybridity which gives them a multifaceted and distinctly gendered hybridity. In his essay '"Kiss Me with those Red Lips": Gender and Inversion in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*', Christopher Craft writes that the sexuality represented in *Dracula* creates 'a powerful ambivalence' (Craft 1984, p.111). Craft highlights how the text of Dracula unleashes a sexuality that is both 'mobile and polymorphic' (Craft 1984, p.111), so that Dracula can be represented as a vampire, a bat, a wolf or floating dust, and yet this attempt to evade the sexual restrictions 'encoded in traditional conceptions of gender then constrains that desire through a series of heterosexual displacements' (Craft 1984, p.111). Craft notes that once Dracula achieves his aim of relocating to London he observes a 'decorous heterosexuality'

(Craft 1984, p.111), and Stoker, like Le Fanu before him, does not dismiss or reverse homosexual desire but continues throughout the novel to 'diffuse and displace it' (Craft 1984, p.111). This then creating a kaleidoscopic mix of desire, fear and sexuality, highlighting Bhabha's point that coloniser and colonised are interdependent. Mina Harker and Lucy Westenra also have their genders reversed in violation of the strict and repressive gender roles of the Victorian Era as the cultural phenomenon of the New Woman was taking shape. Once colonised by Count Dracula, the invading force from the East, Lucy Westerna breaks with the sexually repressive gender norms regarding sex, marriage and monogamy with her hybridity unleashed and, as a result, she is destroyed by a group of men using phallic symbols. Mina Harker becomes the anti-Lucy role model, displaying some of the elements of the New Woman, but rejecting the sexual liberation of the New Woman, she is described as having a 'man's brain' (Stoker 1994, p.281). Her hybrid journey is rewarded by marriage and children, thus, avoiding the violent destruction that is the fate of Lucy.

Harker's Hybridity

Jonathan Harker provides the opening narrative for *Dracula*. Harker is the quintessential middle class English male, attempting to move up through the rigid English class system. An educated and literate man of sound mind, reason, and logic, Harker has recently become a qualified solicitor, and the reader finds him travelling to Transylvania to complete the sale of real estate to Count Dracula. It is in Harker's journey away from the modernity of London and towards Transylvania, where Harker confronts an antiquated land of Catholic symbols, imagery, and superstitious rituals to ward off evil, that the first of Bhabha's problematic binary conventions of ethnicity (us/them, familiar/foreign) is witnessed. According to Bhabha, this is not where cultural identity occurs; rather, it is in 'the emergence of the interstices – the overlap

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and displacement of spheres of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' (Bhabha 2004, p.2). Harker's hybridity is evident in the merging of religions. Harker considers himself English and Protestant but when offered rosary beads by an elderly woman in Transylvania he not only accepts them, but they become both a source of comfort from the horror that lies ahead and a protection from the foreign Other that Count Dracula represents.

At the beginning of the novel, Harker dismisses the superstitious and religious beliefs of the Catholic population, despite repeated warnings of the danger he faces. Harker feels only a patronising sympathy towards these people and their beliefs and rituals to ward off evil. Harker does, however, use Catholic paraphernalia such as rosary beads, crucifixes and communion wafers to ward off the vampire and protect himself from harm. Although Harker primarily identifies as 'an English churchman' (Stoker 1994 p.13), his anti-Catholicism is replaced by a hybridity, keeping with Bhabha's theory that colonialism affects both the coloniser and the colonised. As Harker boards his coach and travels deep into the countryside at night, there are similarities to the lights seen in Irish bogs, which were discussed in Chapter One, as Harker sees 'a strange optical effect' (Stoker 1994, p.22). Harker sees a flickering blue light in the dark countryside and the coach driver stops the coach and 'went rapidly to where the blue flame arose, it must have been very faint, for it did not seem to illumine the place around it at all, and gathering a few stones, formed them into some device' (Stoker 1994, p.22). The driver marks the place where the blue light is with stones similar to the stones that mark the Irish ring forts examined in Chapter Two. These lights in the dark countryside are similar to the lights which exist in Irish superstitions like the Pooka or in Irish the Púca, said to exist as spirit guides in Irish bogs. Within Irish folklore, there is also what is known as a Bog Sprite, a flickering light in unoccupied areas of the bog which lure people to their deaths. The lights are a result of

various gases which exist beneath the bog and aid in decomposition, two of the gases are methane and phosphine, both flammable gases which often spontaneously combust on the surface of bogs when exposed to oxygen. When Harker questions Dracula about the flickering blue lights in the countryside Dracula explains that 'it was commonly believed that on a certain night of the year, last night, in fact, when all evil spirits are supposed to have unchecked sway, a blue flame is seen over any place where treasure has been concealed' (Stoker 1994, p.32). As previously discussed in Chapter Two, in Irish fairy folklore, Irish fairy forts were believed to contain treasure of silver and gold.

The progress of Harker moving further away from London also distances his ability to separate logic and rationality from superstition and the supernatural, while simultaneously transforming Harker into a hybrid bond between the modernity of 19th Century London and the historical setting of Transylvania. Harker is forced to confront the colonised Other in Transylvania, viewing the colonised Other not as a binary opposite but as a part of himself so that his hybrid identity can complete its development and become fully formed. On first analysis, it might appear that Jonathan Harker and Count Dracula are two opposite binary figures from opposite sides of the colonial discourse. Harker symbolises the well dressed, cosmopolitan and educated English coloniser, while Count Dracula represents the ancient aristocrat whose conquests are now firmly located in the past. However, the literary effect of doubling shows both Harker and Dracula are two sides of the same colonial coin, as the Gothic trope of the *doppelgänger* provides an insight into both coloniser and colonised. While Harker is in Count Dracula's castle, he cuts himself while shaving and the effect of the *doppelgänger* is demonstrated:

This time there could be no error, for the man was close to me, and I could see him over my shoulder. But there was no reflection of him in the mirror! The whole room behind me was displayed, but there was no sign of a man in it, except myself.

(Stoker 1994, p.37)

The *doppelgänger* has a long history in Gothic literature and has become one of the most prominent Gothic tropes. Robert Louis Stevenson used a *doppelgänger* in his 1886 novella, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, with the twist that the two men are actually the same person. Oscar Wilde uses a *doppelgänger* theme in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891). In the novel, Dorian is granted eternal youth, while only his portrait ages and reveals his moral decay. At the end of the story, Dorian tries to stab the picture and his servants later discover he has stabbed himself to death. In *The Shining* (1977), Stephen King uses a *doppelgänger* to help Danny Torrance survive the Overlook Hotel, while the identical twins who haunt the hotel are also *doppelgängers*. Edgar Allan Poe's short story *William Wilson* (1839) also deals with a *doppelgänger.* Freud describes the *doppelgänger* as someone who 'possesses knowledge, feeling and experience in common with the other, identifies himself with another person, so that his self becomes confounded, or the foreign self is substituted for his own—in other words, by doubling, dividing and interchanging the self' (Freud 2003, p.142). When applied to the colonial discourse taking place within *Dracula,* the technique of the *doppelgänger* becomes a literary device for Stoker to allow Harker the coloniser, to see his repressed traits, within Count Dracula, the colonised.

It is notable that Harker, in this particular scene, is shaving himself in front of a mirror and a window, the mirror provides self-reflection and the window can be interpreted as providing illumination. Here, Harker is displaying his hybridity as colonised and coloniser, demonstrating

the possibilities of how amorphous colonial hybridity can be. This liminal state is evident between Harker and Count Dracula, where Freud describes the *doppelgänger* as 'the same but not quite', (Bhabha 2004, p.122) and Bhabha stipulates that 'where the observer becomes the observed and "partial" representation rearticulates the whole notion of *identity* and alienates it from essence' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, p.127). Count Dracula is observing Harker but, despite his best attempts, Harker is unable to observe Count Dracula, as the vampire has no reflection. Harker refuses to accept his hybridity; however, it is Harker's burgeoning hybridity that proves his saviour on this occasion, as, when Count Dracula smells the scent of blood from where Harker cut himself shaving, the rosary beads, from the Catholic religion he rejected at the beginning of the novel, save him: 'His hand touched the string of beads which held the crucifix. It made an instant change in him, for the fury passed so quickly that I could hardly believe that it was ever there' (Stoker 1994, p.37).

For Harker, the very act of shaving is a rejection of his colonised state in Dracula's impenetrable and inescapable castle. He keeps up his typical English appearance of a clean-shaven, modern, rational, and educated English man, the binary opposite of his medieval surroundings. Harker also observes the castle through the mirror and the appearance of the vampire in the room, which has gone unnoticed due to the vampire having no reflection. This can also be interpreted through the psychoanalytical lens of Lacan, who, in his essay, 'The Mirror Stage'*,* states that from the age of six months a child recognises its own reflection in a mirror, a stage of development where the child is outdone 'by the chimpanzee in instrumental intelligence' (Lacan 2001, p.1), when the chimpanzee is at the same phase of development. For Lacan, this recognition of self, at an infant stage, when the child is still dependent on nursing and still lacks the motor development to support itself, exhibits a critical moment '[i]n which the I is precipitated in a primordial form, before it is objectified in the dialectic of identification

with the other, and before language restores to it, in the universal, its function as subject' (Lacan 2001, p.2). The child sees its image as a whole, but this contrasts with the lack of coordination of the body, leading the child to perceive a fragmented body, leaving the mirror stage to create tension between it and the mirror image. To resolve this tension, the subject identifies with the image and this is what forms the Ego. For Lacan, this stage of development 'discloses a libidinal dynamism' (Lacan 2001, p.2). Lacan states that the end of the mirror stage represents a maturation 'and the very normalisation of this maturation being henceforth dependent, in man, on a cultural mediation as exemplified, in the case of the sexual object, in the Oedipus complex' (Lacan 2001, p.60). Harker too is fragmented, he sees the room through the mirror, but not the vampire. Although we are reading the scene from Harker's point of view, Dracula is present in the room but Stoker highlights the vampire's absence in the mirror. This reveals a doubling of Harker and Dracula as oppressor/oppressed, a doubling which is violently concluded at the end of the novel.

The mimicry that occurs between Harker and Dracula, therefore, is a significant moment of hybridity within the novel, and it is notable that this is the beginning of the conflict between Harker and Dracula, as their previously cordial relationship turns into a predatory game of cat and mouse within the corridors of Dracula's castle. Harker, however, may have rejected the first significant sign of his hybridity, but his attitude towards Dracula is one of acceptance, knowing that he is at his mercy being so far from home and imprisoned within the castle. This forces Harker to buy time to plot his escape by feigning interest and friendship with Count Dracula as he learns what the vampire's interests are: 'I asked him a few questions on Transylvania history, and he warmed up to the subject wonderfully' (Stoker 1994, p.40). This deliberate mimicry by Harker becomes an example of colonial mimicry, in which Harker 'appropriates the Other' (Bhabha 2004, p.122), through a strategy of 'reform, regulation and

discipline' (Bhabha 2004, p.122), and yet Harker's attempt to relate to Dracula's history and culture becomes both 'resemblance and menace' (Bhabha 2004, p.123). Harker's mimicry shows its excess and slippage as he tries to bide his time in order to find a way to destroy Dracula and to escape the ancient mansion in which he is now a prisoner.

Hybridity is also evident in Stoker's female characters and in the use of gender reversal in the male characters. Mina Harker and Lucy Westenra dramatically change their gender roles upon exposure to Dracula, with sexual promiscuity becoming part of their characteristics as a result of being colonised by Dracula. It is foreshadowed early in the novel when Stoker uses gender reversal; as Harker faces the three brides of Count Dracula, he is given distinctly feminine attributes, in both his physical features, and in the repeated sexual innuendo that occurs throughout the text. Stoker highlights the fears of a sexually repressed Victorian society and the fear that they too will become as sexually aggressive as the invader from the East so that the colonisers will themselves become colonised by the foreign Other. Thus, Count Dracula is a colonising force in the novel, largely silent, through the various narrative structures used throughout the novel. Count Dracula is not given his own voice in the same manner as the other characters. His scenes are told though the eyes of the other characters and his appearances are brief, with relatively little said, in comparison to the other characters. Count Dracula personifies the Gothic Other in the novel, as he states early in the novel, 'we are in Transylvania; and Transylvania is not England. Our ways are not your ways, and there shall be to you many strange things' (Stoker 1994, p.32).

His foreign location, his unorthodox title, mannerisms, wealth, and outré personality, combined with his alienation, not just from Britain, but from their religious and social customs, means Count Dracula exemplifies the reverse colonial oppressor threatening one

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of the great colonising powers with colonisation. Not only does Count Dracula put in action a plan to reach England, but just as Carmilla attempts to blend in and camouflage, he is confident that he can assimilate into his new surroundings and culture: 'I am content if I am like the rest, so that no man stops if he sees me, or pauses in his speaking if he hears my words, to say, "Ha, ha! A stranger!"' (Stoker 1994, p.31). This sense of camouflage is important to Count Dracula; he longs for the security of blending into his surroundings so that he will not stand out and become a weak link, a target for people, who for him are predators. In *Strange Country*, Deane notes that Dracula is eager to learn English so that his 'strangeness of speech will not call attention to him when he is in London' (Deane 1997, p.92). Similarly, Valente also highlights how Dracula becomes 'an index of ethnicity' (Valente 2002, p.73). Valente examines how Dracula's ability to pass as an Englishman in England is the thing that terrifies the Harkers far more than his supernatural abilities. Valente describes the scene where Dracula appears on the streets of London as a parallel to the Anglo/Irish history of 'intelligence and counterintelligence, information and misinformation, disguise and exposure, secrecy and betrayal' (Valente 2002, p.73). His desire for hybridity is seen when he dresses himself in Harker's clothes and goes into the town to post Harker's letters so that when people see him they will mistake him for Harker, the clothes becoming, literally, a hybrid cover that allows the dead to walk amongst the living without detection:

> his new scheme of evil […] will allow others to see me, as they think, so that he may both leave evidence that I have been seen in the towns or villages posting my own letters, and that any wickedness which he may do shall by the local people be attributed to me.
>
> (Stoker 1994, p.59)

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Count Dracula conflicts with Victorian society and culture on almost every level; his accent, his opposition to Christianity, his sexuality, and his animalistic behaviour are in direct opposition to Victorian society's Christian devotion, and repressed sexuality, as can be seen in the treatment of prostitutes in Victorian era London where 'entire streets in the slums of London were inhabited by prostitutes' (Picard 2009a). With the rapid spread of sexually transmitted diseases women were often locked up in foul wards of hospitals or 'they might be admitted to a 'Lock Hospital' which specialised in such cases' (Picard 2009a). With no cure for syphilis, if the women survived the acute phase of the disease they were released onto the streets where they spread the disease amongst the general public. The journalist W.T. Stead called attention to the plight of prostitutes when he bought 'a 13-year-old girl, just to show his readers how easy it was' (Picard 2009a). Stead became famous and Victorian society turned on the women, soon the bodies of prostitutes were discovered as an unknown serial killer preyed on vulnerable women, although he was never brought to justice 'the public named him 'Jack the Ripper' because of his habit of eviscerating his victims' (Picard 2009a). Religion played a big part in Victorian society, contraceptives were available but illegal and there was a 'wide belief that labour pains were imposed by God because Eve had sinned in the Garden of Eden' (Picard 2009b).

All of Dracula's victims are young, and either married or engaged, and the masculinity of their husbands is subtly challenged by Stoker. In addition, it is their bodies that Count Dracula colonises, the illness and sexual desires that emanate from his victims emphasise this overt sexuality in the Victorian era, which has clearly defined gender roles for men and women. This hybridity creates a third-space, where coloniser and colonised meet, in what Bhabha describes as, 'the margin of hybridity, where cultural differences "contingently" and conflictually touch' (Bhabha 2004, p.296). The text of *Dracula* explores the fluidity and instability of gender roles,

creating a colonial hybrid third space between the characters and the gender norms of a sexually repressed Victorian era. On first analysis, Count Dracula is a literary monument to the very essence of masculinity, even venturing into unadulterated hyper-masculinity. Count Dracula has three young beautiful brides, a mansion filled with wealth and expensive furnishings, he has animalistic personality traits, and speaks poetically of hunting wild animals and wolves while simultaneously drawing a contrast with Jonathan with a subtle questioning of his masculinity; '"listen to them, the children of the night. What music they make!" Seeing, I suppose, some expression in my face strange to him, he added, "Ah, sir, you dwellers in the city cannot enter into the feelings of the hunter"' (Stoker 1994, p.29). However, dissatisfied with his three brides and his life in Transylvania, Count Dracula plots the conquest of London and all women by leaving Transylvania and continuing his colonising ways in London. However, his masculinity possesses a duality of meaning, as Count Dracula feeds on the blood of both male and female victims, conquering their minds and colonising their bodies, hinting at the bisexuality of Count Dracula.

When Jonathan Harker first arrives at Count Dracula's castle late at night, Count Dracula takes on the traditionally female role of housewife, cooking and presenting Jonathan's food for him, 'Nay, sir, you are my guest. It is late, and my people are not available. Let me see to your comfort myself' (Stoker 1994, p.26). Count Dracula continues the gender role reversal as he presents the food to Jonathan, espousing feminine rituals more accustomed to a housewife, 'the Count himself came forward and took off the cover of the dish, and I fell to at once on an excellent roast chicken' (Stoker 1994, p.28). This amorphous Gothic hybridity moves between the characters that Count Dracula encounters throughout the novel, and is never fixed to one place, time, or character. Instead, this sinister shadow of corruption is akin to Count Dracula himself who is not given his own voice, in the same manner as the other characters. His scenes

are told though the eyes of the other characters. However, Count Dracula and his hybridity are a powerful force for evil and corruption within the novel, similar to Bhabha's hypothesis that the place of the Other is never 'entirely on the outside or implacably oppositional' (Bhabha 2004, p.156). Instead it runs across the whole spectrum of authorisation, a difference which is 'agonistic, shifting, splitting' (Bhabha 2004, p.156). Bhabha posits that this has more in common with Freud's description of the fractured nature of human consciousness, containing what Freud would call the Ego, the Super-Ego and the id, and that it is located in a liminal space on the border, which is neither inside nor outside but *between* inside and outside where it forms a 'surface of protection, reception and projection' (Bhabha 2004, p.156).

The New Woman

Stoker does, of course, connect this gender fluidity with evil, in the form of Count Dracula and his three brides. However, the opposing characters representing good in the battle between good and evil display sexual and gender displacement while under Count Dracula's malignant influence. When Jonathan Harker confronts the three brides of Count Dracula, Stoker reverses the gender roles, as the mixture of eastern and western cultures converge. The three brides of Dracula are sexually aggressive and need a more feminine man. Traditionally, somebody looking out from under their eyelashes would be associated with a female perspective, but here it is Harker who looks out from under his eyelashes, 'I lay quiet, looking out from under my eyelashes in an agony of delightful anticipation' (Stoker 1994, p.51). The brides of Dracula radiate sexual desire, and we witness the submission by Harker to their overpowering desires, as evidenced by the allusion to oral sex when 'the fair girl went on her knees and bent over me' (Stoker 1994, p.52). Her bending over him is fused with the idea that she is like an animal, 'she actually licked her lips like an animal' (Stoker 1994, p.52). This hybrid woman that exists in a

third space between human and animal, simultaneously repulses and attracts Jonathan, and 'there was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive' (Stoker 1994, p.52). The scene ends with a submissive Harker lying there waiting to be penetrated by the phallic teeth of the female vampires, 'I closed my eyes in languorous ecstasy and waited—waited with beating heart' (Stoker 1994, p.52). This latter is a sexually-charged image more associated with a traditional female role. Harker's encounter with the three female vampires is the result of his own hybridity, he both desires to be feminised by the female vampires but also wants to keep his masculinity; this represents his battle with his hybrid role as both coloniser and colonised. The female vampires are Stoker's living, breathing metaphors of a Victorian woman laced with masculine traits, which Stoker uses to show his desire for a fairer more balanced colonial hybridity. Harker is not the only character who displays these female characteristics, as Dr Seward notes, when observing Van Helsing, that 'he laughed till he cried, and I had to draw down the blinds lest anyone should see us and misjudge. And then he cried, till he laughed again, and laughed and cried together, just as a woman does' (Stoker 1994, pp. 209-210).

Hysteria was historically thought of as a female disease. The word hysteria, as defined by Miriam-Webster's dictionary, comes 'from Latin *hystericus*, from Greek *hysterikos*, from *hystera* womb; from the Greek notion that hysteria was peculiar to women and caused by disturbances of the uterus' (*Miriam-Webster Dictionary*). This gender reversal of the male characters establishes a colonial third space and it is in 'a separation from origins and essences that this colonial space is constructed' (Bhabha 2004, p.171). For the male characters, there is a separation from their Victorian gender, societal roles, and norms, creating a hybrid colonial space as the colonising influence of Count Dracula envelops the characters. The three brides of Dracula represent the New Woman, which was seen as an attack on a sexually restrictive

Victorian society. As Carol Senf highlights, 'this brief scene focuses on the reversal of sexual roles, a characteristic frequently associated with the New Woman' (Senf 1982, p.40). However, here, the bloodthirsty, seductive, powerful and promiscuous female vampires are posing an outside threat.

The New Woman movement was seen as a threat from within Victorian society itself, but Stoker creates an outside force, a colonial Gothic Other attempting to emasculate Jonathan Harker, a British man who has submitted to their powers of seduction and destruction, only to be rescued by Count Dracula. The latter once again displays bisexual undercurrents in his desire to possess Harker: '"how dare you touch him, any of you? How dare you cast eyes on him when I have forbidden it? Back, I tell you all! This man belongs to me!"' (Stoker 1994, p.53). Here, Bhabha's colonial hybridity is on display. In Harker, the doubling of the gender reversal is evident, rebuking Victorian gender norms on how a man should act and behave. In Count Dracula, the contrasting mirror images of his overt masculinity and undercurrents of bisexuality threaten the very fabric of Victorian society, questioning, as they do, how a man should or should not behave in accordance with predetermined gender roles. Count Dracula's three brides show their seductiveness and destructiveness as they become the sexual aggressors, while Harker becomes the submissive and subjugated victim. Bhabha claims that this colonial hybridity 'does not produce a mirror where the self apprehends itself; it is always the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid' (Bhabha 2004, p.162). This scene is also notable for the lack of maternal instinct that the brides of Count Dracula possess, which was another common criticism of the New Woman. They ask if there is anything to eat and Count Dracula produces a bag that contains a child he has abducted; the child is still alive when he throws the bag at them. The colonial force is an attack, not just on gender and sexuality, but on monogamous marriage and the family unit, with Count Dracula's polygamous brides devouring

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a crying baby. This is representative of the traditional function of the patriarchal institute of marriage and women, viewed as male-owned property, which can be exchanged, being destroyed by Dracula's brides.

As we have already noted, the New Woman was a feminist movement that emerged in the late nineteenth century. In 1894, Irish writer Sarah Grand used the term, 'new woman' (Grand 1894, p.271), in an influential article, to refer to independent women seeking radical change, and, in response, the English writer, Maria Louisa Rame, writitng under the pseudonym, Ouida, used the term as the title of a follow-up article entitled, 'The New Woman' which critiqued Grand's assertion that the New Woman had the remedy for the treatment of women by men 'but what this remedy was we are not told, nor did the New Woman apparently disclose it to the rest of womankind' (Ouida 1894, p. 610). The term was further popularized by American writer, Henry James, who used it to describe the growth in the number of feminist women in Europe and the United States. The New Woman believed that independence was not simply a matter of the mind, it also involved physical changes in activity and dress, as activities such as bicycling expanded women's ability to engage with a broader, more active world. While the novels of Henry James had 'New Women' in them, his work also showed how difficult life was for women who engaged with the New Woman movement. In James's work, the New Women rarely had a happy or satisfying ending, but instead endured hardship and sometimes even death. In *The Portrait of A Lady* (1881), Isabel Archer, rejects marriage proposals because she believes that marriage would jeopardise her independence. When her uncle Daniel Tuchett dies, he leaves her a substantial inheritance which she uses to travel the Continent. She marries Gilbert Osmond and they settle in Rome. However, the marriage deteriorates rapidly, and Osmond forbids Isabel from visit her dying cousin in England. Isabel has developed a strong relationship with Osmond's daughter Pansy, and before she leaves for England, she reluctantly

promises her that she will return. Caspar Goodwood attempts to get her to leave her husband and marry him, she rejects his marriage proposal for the second time and the novel ends with her returning to Rome to a loveless and unhappy marriage in what Annette Niemtzow describes James as creating 'a character too moral to flee what is abhorrent and smothering' (Niemtzow 1975, p.382). Bound by her marriage vows and a promise to Pansy, Isabel returns to her bleak marriage.

Likewsie, in *Daisy Miller* (1879), Annie 'Daisy' Miller and Frederick Winterbourne meet in Switzerland. They travel to Château de Chillon, and Winterbourne informs Daisy that he must go to Geneva the next day and Daisy makes vague plans to meet him in Rome later in the year. In Rome, Winterbourne and Daisy meet unexpectedly. Rumours about Daisy meeting with a young Italian gentlemen make her socially exceptionable. Winterbourne learns of Daisy's reputation of having relationships with a young Italian, Giovanelli, as well as the growing scandal caused by the pair's promiscuous behaviour. Daisy is undeterred by the disapproval of the other Americans. Winterbourne takes a walk through the Colosseum and sees Giovanelli and Daisy. Winterbourne asks him how he could dare to take Daisy to a place where she runs the risk of catching Roman fever (malaria). Daisy says she does not care and Winterbourne leaves them. Daisy falls ill and dies a few days later. Daisy has broken the social norms for a young woman and her interactions with the man who was also considered socially unacceptable brought disease and death which could have been avoided had she behaved by societies gender based rules. Though thoroughly distinct in many respects, while James's New Women do not successfully transcend the social limitsof their, in his gothic narrative Stoker sees fit to have his New Woman characters killed in gruesome fashion. However, Stoker does fashion his own version of the New Woman in Mina Harker. A version that displays a New Woman who avoids the excesses of the New Woman and is content with marriage and children.

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The latter, then, is her reward for being a crucial figure in helping to destroy Dracula.

Mina Harker is Stoker's hybrid version of the New Woman, containing some of the elements of the New Woman but with the sensibilities of a man. As Van Helsing notes, 'ah, that wonderful Madam Mina! She has a man's brain, a brain that a man should have…' (Stoker 1994, p.281). Early in the novel, Mina rejects the sexual frankness of the New Woman writers when she satirises the idea that women should have any form of sexual relationship before marriage or even contemplating proposing to men, an idea which subverts the traditional idea of men proposing and the woman becoming a possession of the man: 'I suppose the 'New Woman' won't condescend in future to accept. She will do the proposing herself. And a nice job she will make of it too!' (Stoker 1994, p.111). Mina dismisses the New Woman and feminism as a phase that will soon pass and praises men: 'I believe we would have shocked the "New Woman" with our appetites. Men are more tolerant, bless them!' (Stoker 1994, p.110). Mina is a passive and obedient female figure, and yet her hybridity allows her to become a crucial and central figure, not just in the novel, but also in defeating Dracula. The text of *Dracula* uses various modern technologies, such as typewriting, phonograph recording, telegraph, and newspapers, which are used to archive information, and ultimately prove invaluable in defeating Dracula. Mina has mastered these skills and is essentially a historian to the group of men intent on destroying Dracula, as she collects and organises the letters, ship logs, newspaper clippings, and journal entries. And all of this feeds into the novel's fractured form. Mina, then, occupies an important position amongst the group as the official historian of their trials against the demonic evil of Count Dracula, and the colonising threat he poses, both to them as individuals and to their society.

Dracula's hesitation and, in some cases, inability to accept modernity is present throughout the novel. The novel highlights, and puts to use as plot devices, the technological advancements

of modernity, but they are not always effective and towards the end of the novel prove useless in the destruction of Count Dracula. In *Dracula*, science and logic can exceed and damage the traditional boundaries that society has created. While modernity can be advantageous for a society, *Dracula* espouses the benefits of ensuring that the fundamental beliefs and values of society are kept intact. This is highlighted by the birth of the New Woman and the influence of the foreign Other. *Dracula* demonstrates how the New Woman threatens the social structure of the Victorian family and the masculinity of men while offering Mina as a prototype of a New Woman who could exist in tandem with traditional beliefs. This demonstrates how Bhabha's theories highlight that tradition grants a 'partial form of identification' (Bhabha 2004, p.3), and how in 'restaging the past it introduces other, incommensurable cultural temporalities into the invention of tradition' (Bhabha 2004, p.3).

The written word is an important symbol of nationalism, creating what Benedict Anderson terms, 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2006, p.13). Anderson states that print capitalism 'gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation' (Anderson 2006, p.44). Governments all across the world know the dangers of the printed word in building communities, as both oppressive and democratic regimes use various forms of censorship to control the dissemination of information amongst like-minded members of political minded groups and organisations whose ideology they disagree with. As Anderson notes, by way of example: 'the Thai government actively discourages attempts by foreign missionaries to provide its hill-tribe minorities with their own transcription-systems and to develop publications in their own language: the same government is largely indifferent to what these minorities speak' (Anderson 2006, p.45). The power of the printed word, and Mina's task in recording the events that have taken place, make her Stoker's personification of the power and privilege that writing the official history of the groups battle

with Count Dracula contains. It provides her with the ability to shape the story in an identical manner to when colonising powers used official records to shape colonial discourse and literature.

The introduction of both language and the printed word to colonies irreversibly changed the development of a national language. Mina's comment on there not being a single authentic document alludes to the colonial influence at the end of the novel, the association that what is written is not authentic. And yet the power of language, the written word, and, later, the printed word, which allowed mass amounts of literature to be made available to people, demonstrated the incredible power of a language often introduced to natives under violent and oppressive conditions. In many cases, this situation destroyed and stunted the development of the language already in existence in the colonised territory. Anderson notes how all modern self-created countries or nations have national print languages and many have these languages in common, while other nations only a small minority of the population will use the national language in print or in conversation: 'the nation-states of Spanish America or those of the "Anglo-Saxon family" are conspicuous examples of the first outcome; many ex-colonial states, particularly in Africa, of the second' (Anderson 2006, p.46).

In line with Anderson's ideas on print capitalism, Jennifer Wicke explores the effects of capitalism and mass media consumption within *Dracula*. Wicke argues that despite all the feudalism and medieval aspects of the epistolary novel the 'nineteenth-century diaristic and epistolary effusion is invaded by cutting edge technology' (Wicke 1992, p.470). Wicke argues that Mina's shorthand is an example of 'the standardization of mass business writing' (Wicke 1992, p.471). Given that Dracula is unable to read shorthand and this is how Mina communicates with Jonathan when he is a prisoner in Dracula's castle, Dracula leaves the documents with Jonathan. Both Mina and Jonathan can read shorthand and Dracula cannot so

that shorthand effectively becomes a 'modern, or mass cultural, cryptogram' (Wicke 1992, p.471). This is also observed by David Seed when he notes how Harker's journal entries become 'a therapeutic act of self-preservation, apparently all the more secure from Dracula's scrutiny because it is written in short-hand' (Seed 1985, p.65). Equally, in presenting Dracula with Kodak photographs of the property Dracula wishes to purchase, Harker highlights how the 'untoward aspects of vampirism are first signaled by the mention of the Kodak' (Wicke 1992, p.473), given that vampires have no reflection we can assume that photographs of vampires will not provide an image and this 'shunts the anxiety back onto vampirism itself: vampirism as a stand-in for the uncanny procedures of modern life' (Wicke 1992, p.473). Seed highlights how Harker's journal, just like the Kodak photographs, 'acts as a preservation of frozen images' (Seed 1985, p.65), and provides the reader with a 'store of images that enables him to interpret the fragmentary signs that fill characters' later accounts' (Seed 1985, p.65). Wicke states that the Kodak camera captures an image and 'allows it to be moved elsewhere, freezing a moment of temporality and sending it across space, in a parallel to Dracula's insubstantiality and his vitiation of temporality' (Wicke 1992, p.475).

Dracula either cannot understand modernity (Mina's shorthand) or, in the case of the Kodak camera, modernity simply does not apply to him. He is an outsider attempting to reach London and blend seamlessly into his surroundings so that he does not stand out as a stranger, and yet Dracula experiences a sense of isolation familiar to the 'colonial intellectual, who has utterly mastered the print language, is an adept in all things English […] and yet lacks that touch of spoken familiarity' (Wicke 1992, p.488). Thus, Dracula is not merely a symbol representing the fear of otherness but has subtleties which 'permit the text to express its confidence in the levels of mastery of English that "prove" [the] nationality' (Wicke 1992, p.488). Just as Anderson states that capitalism assembled and then reproduced print languages which were

then disseminated though the market for public consumption, Wicke notes how Dracula has 'a polyglottal quality' (Wicke 1992, p.488), with a variety of accents and dialects which becomes the 'determinative feature of the novel's form' (Wicke 1992, p.488). Just as the novel's narrative is a result of the modern technology of production that the feudal, medieval and superstitious aspects of the novel loathe, the text does challenge the English language in order to mark out the national boundary and control the 'unruliness of speech by technologizing it-typing it-as a print-language of hegemony' (Wicke 1992, p.488). Mina's typewriting and shorthand skills become a valuable part of *Dracula*, ultimately helping to locate and then defeat the vampire in a brief battle between good and evil at the end of the novel. Mina's reward for this task of historian of their battle with Dracula is marriage and motherhood, as she displays a more acceptable version of the New Woman than Lucy did.

Yet, Mina herself becomes a colonised victim of Count Dracula and warns Jonathan that there is a chance she could become Count Dracula's accomplice and turn against him. Here, Mina implies the possibility of her not just submitting to the foreign colonising sexual invader, but also of desiring the sexual transgression he offers. As a result of her colonisation by Count Dracula, Mina, under the hypnosis of Van Helsing, moves back and forth between a dream state and consciousness, during which she is connected with Count Dracula. This means that Mina occupies more than one place in the novel while she travels with Jonathan and the other members of the group in pursuit of Count Dracula. Mina can see through the eyes of Count Dracula and hear through his ears; as such, she is able to gain information that aids them in tracking down their enemy. This fluid hybridity is similar to what Bhabha describes in black Africans, under the colonising force of British imperialism, taking on the traits and characteristics of their colonial oppressors, 'in occupying two places at once […] the depersonalized, dislocated colonial subject can become an incalculable object, quite literally

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difficult to place' (Bhabha 2004, p.89). Here, Mina becomes a subconscious part of her coloniser, seeing and hearing the world as he does. However, Mina is still separate. She resists his influence, and the duality of identity is constructed, where the 'question of identity always poised uncertainly, tenebrously, between shadow and substance' (Bhabha 2004, p. 70).

Lucy Westenra represents a warning of the consequences of embracing sexual liberation and also serves as an example of Bhabha's theories on colonial mimicry. Lucy radiates female sexuality, she is the new modern woman and, in her letters to Mina, there is a homosexual undercurrent: 'I wish I were with you, dear, sitting by the fire undressing' (Stoker 1994, p.71); again, later in the letter, there are overtures to a lifelong relationship and love 'we have slept together and eaten together, and laughed and cried together' (Stoker 1994, p.72). She also displays, in her letters to Mina, polygamous thoughts that are similar to Count Dracula: 'why can't they let a girl marry three men? Or as many as want her, and save all this trouble?' (Stoker 1994, p.76). Lucy names three men who proposed to her, Arthur Holmwood, Quincey Morris, and Dr John Seward, which is resonant of Count Dracula's three brides. When Lucy falls victim to Count Dracula, she is not simply repeating his physical and sexual behaviours, or submitting to the symptoms of the colonisation of her body but is largely repeating what was already within her thoughts and feelings. These ideas are a part of Lucy's subconscious and are only enhanced, magnified, and brought to the surface when Count Dracula colonises her. The only way for the men to rescue her from Count Dracula's influence is a blood transfusion containing brave men's blood, a form of overt masculinity that has to be injected into her using the phallic symbol of the syringe. Four men give their blood to rescue Lucy: Holmwood, Seward, Van Helsing, and Morris all give blood to try to counter the blood Count Dracula has taken from her, as if Count Dracula's transgressive sexuality can only be defeated by re-establishing their own sexual codes. In terms of the plot, the men are trying to rescue Lucy from becoming

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completely colonised by Count Dracula and, therefore, beyond rescue or redemption; however, symbolically this has parallels with wresting Lucy away from the sexual values that Count Dracula represents and which pose a threat to their own cultural and societal values.

Once Lucy is beyond rescue, the language used to describe Lucy changes. She is compared to Medusa, the monster from Greek mythology, Hell, as well as other foreign identities, such as Greek and Japanese passion masks:

> The beautiful colour became livid, the eyes seemed to throw out sparks of hell fire, the brows were wrinkled as though the folds of flesh were the coils of Medusa's snakes, and the lovely, blood-stained mouth grew to an open square, as in the passion masks of the Greeks and Japanese.

(Stoker 1994, p.254)

Lucy has now fully completed the colonisation process to the Gothic Other and her former friends abandon all hope of reforming her. This revulsion that distinguishes her from them shows how 'mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate' (Bhabha 2004, p.122). The language used contrasts good and evil, with the words devil, spirituality, unspiritual and purity being used to juxtapose what she is with what she used to be: '[s]he seemed like a nightmare of Lucy as she lay there, the pointed teeth, the blood stained, voluptuous mouth, which made one shudder to see, the whole carnal and unspirited appearance, seeming like a devilish mockery of Lucy's sweet purity' (Stoker 1994, p. 256). It is notable that the word mockery is introduced to the text as Lucy is transformed into the Other. Lucy is now the colonising force, they are faced with the colonial Other and see themselves reflected in Lucy's vampiric but still human features, like a mirror being held up to the face of the colonisers and 'it is from this area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilizing mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double, that my instances of colonial imitation come' (Bhabha 2004, p.123).

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Van Helsing recognises the doubling effect that exists when Lucy's fiancé, Arthur Holmwood, asks if the body of Lucy in the coffin is really her, and Van Helsing replies 'it is her body, and yet not it' (Stoker 1994, p.256). This statement is an apt description of Bhabha's deployment of Freud's uncanny, that 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, p.122). Their attempts to rescue Lucy are futile, as she has been revealed as a prototype for a woman gone wrong and must be punished for it, her body ultimately being staked by a group of men. Once again, this uses the phallic symbol of a stake: 'his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake' (Stoker 1994, p.259). After the destruction of her body, her head is removed, a ritual highly symbolic of the colonised mind being removed from the body. Lucy's body being possessed is similar to the phenomenon of the changeling discussed in Chapter Two, where fairies abduct a child and leave a sickly and weak *doppelgänger* in its place as noted in the novel. We read in Stoker's text: 'is this really Lucy's body, or only a demon in her shape?' (Stoker 1994, p.256). When Lucy is a vampire roaming London, it is notable that it is children she abducts and drinks blood from, and that when these children are found they are 'terribly weak, and looked quite emaciated' (Stoker 1994, p.214). The changeling *doppelgänger* dies shortly afterwards but the child abducted can live forever in the fairy realm, in the same manner that Lucy dies when she is human and then returns as an immortal vampire.

Dracula displays colonial hybridity, using gender and sexuality as concepts to be explored and experimented with, to create colonial nuances within the text. The attack on Victorian society, represented by Count Dracula, a sexually transgressive invader from the East coming to the West, and colonising young women's bodies who then display sexual aggression and rebuke Victorian cultural and societal codes, is reversed by the end of the novel. Lucy is

destroyed but Mina survives and plays a central part in the death of Count Dracula. She is then rewarded with marriage and motherhood, which is a reward she enthusiastically accepts, rejecting, as she has from the beginning of the novel, the sexual frankness of the New Woman and the colonising powers of colonisation that had threatened to overpower her. However, the death of Count Dracula at the end of the novel is the ultimate sign of the completion of hybridity for the characters. Jonathan Harker is the person who murders Dracula, confirming the completion of his hybrid journey at the beginning of the novel, where he possessed a narrow colonial perspective and a stationary role, to the end of the novel, where he has an active role and a wider, worldlier perspective on colonialism and hybridity. Mina, the hybrid woman, with the brains of a man and now the blood of a vampire, becomes the hybrid weapon that allows the men to destroy Count Dracula. Mina's reward of marriage and children results in Mina's and Jonathan's son, Quincey Harker. Quincey is arguably the ultimate hybrid in *Dracula*, the child of Mina and Jonathan, he possesses the blood of Dracula, Lucy, and the men that provided the blood for her numerous blood transfusions. *Dracula* is firmly framed in the context of colonial hybridity, as the novel begins with Jonathan Harker's developing hybridity and ends with his son's ultimate and complete manifestation of hybridity for future generations.

Hybrid Religions

Dracula is a novel in which Catholicism plays a significant part, from the very beginning of the novel the religious themes become apparent. Jonathan Harker is preparing to leave his hotel when the hotel owner's wife warns him that 'it is the eve of St. George's Day. Do you not know that tonight, when the clock strikes midnight, all the evil things in the world will have full sway?' (Stoker 1994, p.13). Saint George's Day is a holiday occurring on the 23rd of April and celebrates Saint George, the Christian martyr and patron saint of England. Saint George is

said to have rescued a woman by killing a dragon. Furthermore, Dracul means dragon or devil, and Dracula means son of Dragon or Devil in Romanian. Traditionally, Christianity has portrayed dragons as being in league with the Devil. Thus, while Jonathan Harker might associate Saint George's Day with good overcoming evil, in Transylvanian superstition, Saint George's Day symbolises a time when evil may triumph over good. It is here that Harker describes himself as 'an English Churchman' (Stoker 1994, p.13).

Religious binary oppositions come into play from the early stages of the novel, as Western culture clashes with Eastern culture in terms of beliefs regarding Saint George's Day. In addition, the first signs of Jonathan Harker's religious opposition are on display when he reacts to the woman taking a crucifix from her neck and imploring him to take the crucifix for protection. Harker's reaction to this offering is one of bemusement and also one that both reinforces and undermines his Protestantism: 'I did not know what to do, for, as an English Churchman, I have been taught to regard such things as in some measure idolatrous, and yet it seemed so ungracious to refuse an old lady meaning so well and in such a state of mind' (Stoker 1994, pp.13-14). In 'Signs Taken for Wonders,' Bhabha relates an account of indigenous populations first coming into contact with the Bible. Bhabha notes how the natives respond to this first impression by observing how they read the text without Christian context and belief and, therefore, considered it as just another text. It was viewed as a text which they question without any sense of blasphemy or Christian theological beliefs or inherent societal reverence, which a Christian with a Western cultural mind-set might place on the Bible. By doing this Bhabha observes how this is an important aspect of hybridity, noting that when they made these 'intercultural, hybrid demands, the natives are both challenging the boundaries of discussion and subtly changing its terms by setting up another specifically colonial space of the negotiations of cultural authority' (Bhabha 2004, p.171).

This is similar to what Jonathan Harker does throughout *Dracula*. As his hybrid journey begins with simple acceptance of a crucifix, which he believes to be blasphemous but one which by the end of the novel he completely accepts as powerful, holy and a weapon in the continual battle of good and evil within the novel, and this is done under what Bhabha refers to as 'the eye of authority' (Bhabha 2004, p.171). Harker highlights the firm beliefs of his faith but also that he is willing to consciously push them aside in order to placate the woman who is extremely upset that he will not abandon his plans to travel to Count Dracula's castle. He accepts the crucifix which becomes one of the few weapons at his disposal when battling Count Dracula and is a crucial aid in Harker escaping from Count Dracula's empty mansion with its mysterious locked doors and valuable relics from the past. After he has discovered that Count Dracula is plotting to murder him and realises that the crucifix has the power to repel the vampire, Harker notes how he has come to appreciate the power the crucifix symbolises: 'Bless that good, good woman who hung the crucifix round my neck! For it is a comfort and a strength to me whenever I touch it. It is odd that a thing which I have been taught to regard with disfavour and as idolatrous should in a time of loneliness and trouble be of help' (Stoker 1994, p.40). Crucifixes are a constant weapon within *Dracula*, not just for Jonathan Harker, Van Helsing repeatedly uses a rosary with a crucifix attached to prevent Lucy from leaving her coffin in order to attack and kill people. The captain of the *Demeter*, the ship which carries Count Dracula to London, is found dead on the ship, his hands fastened to one of the spokes of the helm of the ship. And between the inner hand and the wood was a 'crucifix, the set of beads on which it was fastened being around both wrists and wheel, and all kept fast by the binding cords' (Stoker 1994, p.100). The crucifix becomes a symbol of hope in the battle against Count Dracula and, for Jonathan Harker, the crucifix starts in a place of scorn or blasphemy and slowly transforms into an object of power against the evil represented by Count Dracula and

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his family of vampires so that the crucifix becomes a production of 'partial knowledges and positionalities' (Bhabha 2004, p.171).

Outside of Jonathan Harker, all the other characters have both obvious and subtle religious symbols and imagery associated with them. Mina Harker nee Murray has the Irish connection with her surname of Murray, which is repeated throughout the text until her marriage to Jonathan Harker. However, the more obvious connections to religion for Mina are the references to God, and not just to God but to the beliefs of having led a good, God-fearing and obedient life, as is highlighted when she is forced to drink the blood of Count Dracula and she exclaims 'Oh, my God! My God! What have I done? What have I done to deserve such a fate, I who have tried to walk in meekness and righteousness all my days. God pity me!' (Stoker 1994, p. 343). After being attacked and bitten by Count Dracula, Van Helsing places a consecrated Host on Mina's forehead, it burns through her flesh leaving a red mark on her forehead and, again, Mina invokes the idea of living a sin free life, when she says 'Unclean! Unclean! Even the Almighty shuns my polluted flesh! I must bear this mark of shame upon my forehead until the Judgement Day' (Stoker 1994, p.353)

Dr. Abraham Van Helsing is a Dutch scientist, however, and he retains an open mind to superstition and folklore, which he combines with 19th century scientific knowledge when faced with Count Dracula and his vampires. It is Van Helsing's knowledge of folklore which introduces the concepts of garlic, crucifixes and holy water as deterrents against vampires. No indication is given regarding his religion until he removes a small gold crucifix from around his neck and places it on the lips of Lucy after she has died. As well as his name being the first name of the author, 'Abraham 'Bram' Stoker, it does also have the Biblical connection with Abraham, the common patriarch of the three Abrahamic religions. In Judaism, he is the founding father of the Covenant, the special relationship between the Jewish people and God.

In Christianity, he is the prototype of all believers, Jewish or Gentile; and in Islam he is seen as a link in the chain of prophets that begins with Adam and culminates in Muhammad. Renfield's religion is not as deliberately stated as the other characters; however, his constant refrain of 'the blood is the life!' (Stoker 1994, p.171) is a direct quote from the Bible, Deuteronomy 12:23, 'be sure you do not eat the blood, because the blood is the life' (Deuteronomy 12:23).

Fetson Kalua notes how Bhabha views the postcolonial perspective as 'a process of celebrating dynamic spaces of cultural change characterized by shifting identities' (Kalua 2009, p.23). This is a notable aspect of the characters in the final chapters of the novel, as characters who had seemed scientific and dismissive of religion and superstition now display a belief in the supernatural and tradition. By the time Count Dracula is defeated and good has triumphed over evil, Jonathan Harker, who has shown an allegiance to Catholicism from the moment he survives Count Dracula's castle, appears to have completed his journey towards conversion to Catholicism and is joined by Dr. Seward, who had appeared throughout the novel to be an atheist and critic of Catholicism. This is seen, in particular, as noted when he said '*Omnia Romae venalia sunt*' (Stoker 1994, p.78), which translates into *everything in Rome is for sale*. But by the end of the novel, when Dr. Seward has to face down the undoubtedly evil and supernatural entity that is Count Dracula, he notes how when holding the crucifix and consecrated Host, he 'felt a mighty power fly along my arm, and it was without surprise that I saw the monster cower back' (Stoker 1994, p.364). This becomes yet another sign of a form of splitting which allows a reading of the 'ambivalence of colonial cultural texts' (Bhabha 2004, p.170). And Kalua notes that Bhabha views hybridity and especially liminality as 'a response to and a real moment of intervention in people's daily lives as they try to grapple with the cosmic eddies of change around them' (Kalua 2009, p.23). These changes take place in all the

main characters, as previous positions on modernity and tradition, science and superstition are reversed and remain that way at the end of the novel.

Nor are the religious links confined exclusively to the characters fighting evil. Count Dracula is spoken of in terms of reverence, scripture and in what is easily identifiable as Christian language. Count Dracula makes Biblical allusions when he speaks to Mina describing her drinking of his flesh as a parody of the Eucharist 'flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood' (Stoker 1994, p.343). Later on, Van Helsing would term this event the 'vampire's baptism of blood' (Stoker 1994, p.383). With those words and descriptions Count Dracula is given the status of a satanic priest. This is especially true of Renfield, who views Count Dracula as a Christ-like figure promising immortality in return for devotion and worship. This is particularly evident when Renfield, in conversation with Dr. Seward, describes himself as 'somewhat in the position which Enoch occupied spiritually […] because he walked with God' (Stoker 1994, p.321). But as Van Helsing notes, Count Dracula is not merely evil posing with God-like characteristics but, being evil, Count Dracula originates from a common source 'not the least of its terrors that this evil thing is rooted deep in good" (Stoker 1994, p.288). For Van Helsing, evil is created by good, a point picked up by Dr. Seward when he witnesses Mina's slow transformation into a vampire, if 'there may be a poison that distils itself out of good things' (Stoker 1994, p.383). Here Stoker implies that good and evil are not confined to the problematic binaries of light/dark, good/bad but that the greatness of God and the evil represented by Count Dracula are like the two strands of DNA carefully intertwined around each other and functioning as a whole.

Both Mina Harker and Count Dracula receive scars on their foreheads, which both bear throughout the novel. Count Dracula is struck by Jonathan Harker on the forehead with a shovel and even though he becomes more youthful looking as the novel progresses, the scar

remains. Mina has a scar on her forehead from when Van Helsing places the consecrated Host on her forehead, and it burns her flesh leaving a scar. A scar which Van Helsing declared she would have to bear 'till God himself see fit, as He most surely shall, on the Judgement Day, to redress all wrongs of the earth' (Stoker 1994, p.353). This prophetic dialogue is given more credence by the fact that Jonathan Harker describes Van Helsing as being 'in some way inspired and was stating things outside of himself' (Stoker 1994, p.353). This can be read as Stoker starting to blur the lines between good and evil. And this is strengthened by the fact that Stoker implies that God is obligated to obey the same rules that apply to Count Dracula. The attack on Mina and the burning of her flesh by the consecrated Host, and 'she with all her goodness and purity and faith, was outcast from God' (Stoker 1994, p.367).

The Christian God is, arguably, shown in a negative light that corresponds more to Count Dracula's sense of punishment of the innocent, whether it is feeding his vampire wives with children he has abducted or taking the lives of countless innocent women, such as Lucy. Dracula's attack on Mina is unprovoked and Mina lacks the supernatural ability or knowledge to fight off the vampire's attack making her a defenceless victim. That the Christian God judges Mina unfavourably by essentially damning her to Hell portrays God as petty and vengeful rather than the morally conscious arbitrator of good and evil. Just as it is through a separation from origins and essences that the colonial space is established, so too Count Dracula is a colonial creation existing within the same rules-based environment as God; he is bound by the same rites and rituals as any God. The Dracula/God, good/bad, light/dark binary are closely intertwined like strands of DNA cohabitating in the same space, continually at war with each other while simultaneously functioning as one single unit under these governing rules. Just as Bhabha states that the natives expel the 'copula […] of the Evangelical 'power = knowledge' equation, which then disarticulates the structure of the God – Englishman equivalence'

(Bhabha 2004, p.170), so too do the characters in *Dracula*. Their consistent rejection of Protestantism and embrace of Catholicism in the battle against Count Dracula and his vampiric colonisation of the West 'destablizes the sign of authority' (Bhabha 2004, p.170), and creates new sites of knowledge, identification and most importantly against Count Dracula and for a colonial analysis it creates 'new sites of power' (Bhabha 2004, p.171). One of these sites of power is colonial modernity; indeed, *Dracula* is a novel which is not just a battle of good versus evil but is a battle of tradition versus modernity, and the importance of the maintenance traditional values in the face of modernity.

Vampires and *Dubliners*

Dracula is a novel which has modernity at the heart of it, the very structure of the epistolary novel is a creation of modern technology. As we have seen above, Mina's typing, newspaper clippings, weather reports, Kodak photographs, the ship's log from the *Demeter* and the phonograph that Dr. Seward uses to record his notes which Mina then types up to record their journey to destroy Dracula and save London from a vampire invasion are all symbols of modern technology. *Dracula* also has parallels with James Joyce's *Dubliners* as they both use odour and paralysis to portray how colonial modernity directly affects the characters in these very different pieces of work.

When Harker meets some of Dracula's associates while travelling through Transylvania towards Count Dracula's mansion deep in the countryside, the fact that these people are also vampires is foreshadowed in the novel by the description of their lips and teeth 'the mouth, so far as I could see it under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with peculiarly sharp white teeth. These protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishing vitality in a man of his years' (Stoker 1994, p.20). But it is the homoerotic

nature of Dracula and Jonathan Harker's relationship that Craft analyses as he highlights how the 'sexual threat that this novel first evokes, manipulates, sustains, but never finally represents is that Dracula will seduce, penetrate, drain another male' (Craft 1984, p.110). Craft states that this sexual desire is 'always postponed and never directly enacted, this desire finds evasive fulfilment in an important series of heterosexual displacements' (Craft 1984, p.110). Dracula, however, never drinks from Harker, leaving him to the three female vampires where penetration is never described but implied in the darker recesses of Harker's journal which he hints at but is never revealed to the reader. From this point on Dracula will never so openly display a desire to penetrate a male. Once in England, Dracula focuses solely on females and 'observing a decorous heterosexuality, vamps only women' (Craft 1984, p.111).

I would, however, like to suggest another aspect of the vivid and numerous descriptions of mouths and lips within *Dracula* and argue that they represent 'distorted forms of knowledge' (Lloyd 2011, p.1), which David Lloyd examines in *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity 1800-2000*, detailing how 'stereotypes of the Irish cluster around the things we do with a single orifice, the mouth' (Lloyd 2011, p.1). Lloyd examines how the mouth comes to be associated with the Irish from the Republican ballad, grieving for the dead and the historical events like the Great Irish Famine of 1845, so that the Irish mouth becomes a 'counterfactual cultural resistance' (Lloyd 2011, p.1). Idioms like the gift of the gab, though its origins are unknown, became associated with the Irish. The Blarney Stone located in County Cork is a well-known stone on a parapet that is said to give the gift of the gab to anyone that kisses it, a gift that grants the person the eternal gift of eloquence (in Irish 'solabharthact'). Lloyd writes that this verbal space is 'an unruly oral space even in the very architectures and disciplines of modernity, from the pub to the prison cell, and of its resistance to the effort to contain it' (Lloyd 2011, p.1). Lloyd also examines the practice of keening when somebody dies, keening in Ireland is also

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associated with another mythological Irish creature called the Banshee which comes from the Old Irish: *ben side* or *baintsíde* which translates to 'woman of the fairy mound' or 'fairy woman'. The Banshee is a female spirit in Irish mythology who heralds the death of a family member, usually by wailing, shrieking, or keening on the night the person dies or the night before the person dies. Her name is connected to the fairy forts discussed in Chapter Two and which punctuate the Irish countryside. In Ireland, and parts of Scotland, a traditional part of mourning is the keening woman who wails a lament. This keening woman may in some cases be a professional who could be hired for a funeral, family members or close friends could also be keeners. The banshee also is a predictor of death. If someone is about to enter a situation where it is unlikely they will come out alive she will warn people by screaming or wailing.

In this respect, Jonathan Harker's journey through Transylvania is an interesting one, marked as it is by long dark silences broken only by the sound of dogs and wolves howling:

> Then a dog began to howl somewhere in a farmhouse far down the road, a long, agonized wailing, as if from fear. The sound was taken up by another dog, and then another and another, till, borne on the wind which now sighed softly through the Pass, a wild howling began, which seemed to come from all over the country, as far as the imagination could grasp it through the gloom of the night.
>
> (Stoker 1994, p.21)

Stoker began writing *Dracula* two years after Lady Wilde published *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland*, which contained accounts of the Banshee, but which Stoker would have been aware of regardless given their prominence in Irish culture. Lloyd discusses the use of a dog howl at the beginning of Irish singer Sinead O'Connor's song *Famine*, noting that it is impossible to figure out if the howl is of hunger or grief or if it is even human or animal or even whether it is a genuine dog's howl or the imitation of a dog's howl

by a human voice. This is a difficulty that puts the sound firmly in the category of the uncanny. For Lloyd this is the sound of a decimated society of which nothing remains except this domesticated animal returning to its former wildness in the absence of a society. The sound of the dog howling creates an image of 'mouths biting at air' (Lloyd 2011, p.49), while accounts of the Famine highlight how 'the terrible silence of the land is counterpointed by the sound of wailing or howling, sound that seems undecidably human or animal' (Lloyd 2011, p.50). In much the same way, the deathly silence of Harker's journey through the Transylvania wilderness is broken by various forms of howling 'far off in the distance, from the mountains on each side of us began a louder and a sharper howling, that of wolves' (Stoker 1994, p.21).

Amongst these sounds is the sound of silence, whether it is the 'deep, awful silence' (Stoker 1994, p.60) of Dracula's room; the long, dark silences on Harker's journey to Transylvania, or the silences recorded in the accounts of the Great Famine. For Bhabha 'there emerges a mythic, masterful silence in the narratives of empire' (Bhabha 2004, p.176). Bhabha highlights early modernist colonial literature such as Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899), and E.M. Forster's *A Passage to India* (1924) as containing an 'ominous silence that utters an archaic colonial 'otherness', that speaks in riddles, obliterating proper names and proper places' (Bhabha 2004, p.176). For Bhabha, Marlow in *Heart of Darkness* 'seeks Kurtz's Voice, his words […] and is left with those two unworkable words, 'the Horror, the Horror!'' (Bhabha 2004, p.176). Bhabha posits that this is a silence that 'turns imperial triumphalism into the testimony of colonial confusion and those who hear its echo lose their historic memories' (Bhabha 2004, p.176). Count Dracula is voiceless within the novel, all his words and actions are presented by the epistolary nature of the novel, via Jonathan Harker's diary entries, Mina's eyewitness accounts written after the events have taken place, and various other diary and journal entries from various characters throughout the novel. The vampire himself remains

silent, and for Bhabha this 'silence uncannily repeats the other, the sign of identity and reality found in the work of empire is slowly undone' (Bhabha 2004, pp.176-177). Bhabha highlights how the mission of religious work in English imperialism became a 'distinctive feature of the imperialist mind' (Bhabha 2004, p.177), and from the beginning of the nineteenth century the transfer of religious emotion for secular purposes became a prominent part of empire and colonialism but that 'this transference of affect and object is never achieved without a disturbance, a displacement in the representation of empire's work itself' (Bhabha 2004, p.177). Dracula is the displacement within the novel, he is symbolic of tradition but requires modern transport, legal aides, and real estate for his plan to colonise London to work. The death of Dracula is achieved using traditional weapons but it is modern transport which allows him to be chased and captured by his enemies. Van Helsing hypnotises Mina allowing Dracula's location to be revealed so they can destroy him, and it is Van Helsing and Dr Seward's scientific mind and education which guides the characters in moments of doubt and crisis.

Not only is the landscape representative of Ireland, as Valente highlights, when he notes how 'Harker's report on Transylvania evoke a multigeneric, multi-ethnic, and multiperspectival construction of Ireland that had developed, unevenly, over an extended period of time' (Valente 2002, p.53), but through imagery and symbolism the text represents a great tragedy in Irish history, while simultaneously recalling mythological entities like the Banshee to foreshadow the sense of impending doom and the threat to Jonathan Harker's life. The superstitious peasants that Harker looks down on try to warn him of the danger he is in: 'do you know that tonight, when the clock strikes midnight, all the evil things in the world will have full sway? Do you know where you are going, and what you are going to?' (Stoker 1994, p. 23). And the sound of keening is also present in *Dracula*, after Dracula has stolen a child from a peasant on one of his nightly raids, the mother of the child shows up at Dracula's

mansion trying to retrieve her child. Harker looks out the window of the mansion in which he himself is now a prisoner and the woman begs him to release her child and calls him a monster, Harker, unable to help her, watches from high above as she keens for the loss of her child:

> As I sat I heard a sound in the courtyard without, the agonised cry of a woman […] she threw herself on her knees, and raising up her hands, cried the same words in tones which wrung my heart. Then she tore her hair and beat her breast, and abandoned herself to all the violences of extravagant emotion.
>
> (Stoker 1994, p.60)

Keening was active in pre-Famine Ireland and was generally frowned upon by visitors from outside of Ireland who witnessed it in practice. Lloyd notes this when he describes how American traveller, Mrs. S.C. Hall, described a keening at a funeral in Bandon, County Cork, 'but this sort of behaviour only added to the discussion that the Irish had a certain quality of strangeness not seen anywhere else and that the notion of Irish emotion and the peculiar ways in which this emotion was expressed was something of which to be wary' (Lloyd 2011, pp.53-54). Another account of keening by Hall, this time in Kerry, displayed the rituals involved in keening, with the women arranging themselves on one side of the corpse, they rose together, moving their bodies to and fro slowly, their arms held apart before they slowly start to keen until the room is filled with the mournful of crying. For people watching, the trouble in understanding what was happening at a wake or funeral was the apparent paradox of the 'wild spontaneity and its formulaic aspects, or to put it otherwise, the difficulty lay in comprehending the performance of emotion' (Lloyd 2011, p.54). These performances of death are the same as previously discussed in Chapter Two in relation to death in the early modern period, and corresponds with Vansina's work on oral history, where he states that 'traditions are performed' (Vansina 1985, p.108). These Irish oral traditions can be found in *Dracula*, just as Valente states that Transylvania is Ireland transplanted to Central Romania. The Irish oral

tradition in the form of changelings, the Banshee, keening and famine are all present within the novel, but none more so than the drinking of blood and 'no stereotype more closely links the Irish with an oral space than their association with drinking' (Lloyd 2011, p.87), as we witness, Dracula has an insatiable thirst for drinking.

Drinking is a vital part of the novel. R.M. Renfield is an inmate at the lunatic asylum overseen by Dr. John Seward. He is thought to suffer from delusions which compel him to eat living creatures in the hope of obtaining their life-force for himself. Renfield's testimony reveals that Dracula would send him insects, which he begins consuming. He starts with flies, then develops a scheme of feeding the flies to spiders, and the spiders to birds, in order to accumulate more and more life. When denied a cat to accommodate the birds, he eats the birds himself. It is while Seward is treating Renfield that he notes the importance of drinking as he notes when Renfield is discussing eating spiders 'Blow spiders! What's the use of spiders? There isn't anything in them to eat or …' He stopped suddenly as though reminded of a forbidden topic. 'So, so!' I thought to myself, 'this is the second time he has suddenly stopped at the word 'drink'; what does it mean?' (Stoker 1994, p.323).

Lloyd uses Joyce's *Dubliners* (1914) and, specifically, his story 'Counterpoints' as an example of labour alienation, male rage and drinking in Ireland in the early 20th Century. *Dubliners* is a depiction of Irish middle class life in and around Dublin in the early years of the 20th century. All of the characters face moments of paralysis either physical or emotional paralysis which prevents them from achieving their goals whether it is:

> a young woman has a chance to elope to Buenos Aires but cannot bring herself to seize the chance ('Eveline'); a thwarted middle-aged man flinches from human contact and destroys the one person with whom he had a chance of a relationship ('A Painful Case'); an inadequate man who is persecuted by his

boss comes home drunk and terrorises his boy ('Counterparts'); a group of faded men fruitlessly turn over the failures of their political hopes ('Ivy Day in the Committee Room').

<div align="right">(Perry 2016)</div>

These are all moments when they could change the direction of their lives but all experience some form of paralysis and one which Lloyd states is 'bitterly diagnostic of the paralysis of Irish men in colonial Ireland, of their alienation and anomie that is so often counterpointed by drinking and violence' (Lloyd 2011, p.91). Targeted by various temperance groups throughout history, in post-famine Ireland drinking was credited with 'forging a new mode of celibate masculinity' (Lloyd 2011, p.87), which compensated for strict sexual beliefs and the restriction of male access to land so that 'drinking rather than sexuality became the principal site of masculinity' (Lloyd 2011, p.89). Dracula, the drinker of blood, is also the principal source of masculinity within the novel, so much so that he subtly dismisses Jonathan Harker's masculinity when he says 'you city dwellers cannot enter into the feelings of the hunter' (Stoker 1994, p.29). Not only does he dismiss Harker's masculinity but he strengthens his own when he declares his love for wild wolves and the thrill of hunting wild animals 'listen to them – the children of the night. What music they make!' (Stoker 1994, p.29). Bhabha identifies resistance as being found in displacement and repetition, as opposed to the direct violence of the 1641 rebellion or outright civil disobedience. And it is in this displacement or repetition that hybridity is 'problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority–its rules of recognition' (Bhabha 2004, p.162).

Dracula heightens not just a rural/urban divide but a masculine/feminine divide in his speech, his overt control and ultimate dominance of Harker is complete when all pretences are dropped and Harker realises that he is no longer a guest of Dracula but a prisoner in Dracula's

castle. Dracula's feminine characteristics, as seen when he first encounters Harker, are abandoned as he openly taunts Harker, opening the front door of the castle and daring Harker to leave the castle even as he orders his pack of wild wolves to attack Harker. The door of the castle is slammed shut seconds before the claws and teeth of the wolves scratch and tear at the wood of the door. Harker resigns himself to staying inside the castle and a near certain death as Dracula continues his preparations for his invasion of London. One of the results of hybrid characters is paralysis; Jonathan Harker's journey begins with him as a highly educated British Protestant with a scornful attitude to superstition. His journey ends with him as a crucifix wearing Catholic who has rejected modernity and accepted traditional beliefs to save himself and destroy Dracula, but when he comes face to face with Dracula, Harker is paralysed. So that Harker has more in common with the alienated characters in *Dubliners* and the paralysis of Irish men in colonial Ireland than he has with his British counterparts in London. Bhabha's ambiguous resistance suggests that: 'the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed' [italics in original] (Bhabha 2004, p.95). According to Bhabha, the stereotype, in this case the male rage and alcohol in Ireland and the dominant/submissive sexual undertones of Harker imprisoned in Dracula's castle, is sustained by the interdependence of the colonial subjects: the coloniser and the colonised. It is the constant tension and interaction between these two subjects which Bhabha states is ambivalence. Ambivalence for Harker is the tug of war he feels as his rational, scientific and erudite worldview is slowly challenged before being abandoned completely for superstition and tradition by the end of the novel. Bhabha believes this state of attraction and repulsion

between colonial subjects is central to colonial discourse. It is also central to Harker as he has to battle a creature which defies all rational thought.

One aspect of *Dubliners* that Lloyd examines is the use of odour, how a scent can define a place and a people as Joyce himself notes 'it is not my fault that the odour of ashpits and old weeds and offal hangs around my stories' (Lloyd 2011, p.114). Lloyd states that Joyce uses odour in *Dubliners* as it cannot be separated from a 'project of rigorous mimesis' (Lloyd 2011, p.114), where we define mimicry as Bhabha's defintion of a 'desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha 2004, p.122). For Lloyd, Joyce's use of odour rejects symbolism and realism that would be considered a privileged property of a 'bourgeois nationalism' (Lloyd 2011, p.114). It is dedicated to the mimesis of a paralysis which suspends action outside of representation and one which 'refuses to redeem colonial paralysis by subordinating it to a transformative sense of history' (Lloyd 2011, p.114). Bhabha writes that what emerges from the interstices of mimemis and mimicry is a 'writing, a mode of representation, that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable' (Bhabha 2004, p.125). We see this in *Dracula* where odour plays an important role in foreshadowing evil and paralysis. As Jonathan Harker is exploring Dracula's castle he discovers an old chapel deep beneath the mansion which has been converted into a graveyard and it is the odour which grows stronger as he approaches Count Dracula's giant wooden box filled with earth: 'at the bottom there was a dark, tunnel-like passage, through which came a deathly, sickly odour, the odour of old earth newly turned. As I went through the passage the smell grew closer and heavier' (Stoker 1994, p.63). When Van Helsing is trying to save Lucy from Dracula's nightly attacks, it is Lucy's mother, Mrs. Westenra, who has removed the garlic Van Helsing has placed around the room to protect Lucy from any more

attacks. It is, however, the strong odour which makes Mrs. Westenra remove the plants and unwittingly dooms Lucy: 'I feared that the heavy odour would be too much for the dear child in her weak state, so I took them all away and opened a bit of the window to let in a little fresh air' (Stoker 1994, p.162). Odour is again mentioned in this scene as a weapon against Dracula, when Dr. Seward notes that the 'flowers were of medicinal value, and that the breathing of their odour was a part of the system of cure' (Stoker 1994, p.164). After Lucy has died it is the odour of garlic which takes prominent place at her funeral 'Lucy lay in her coffin, strewn with the wild garlic flowers, which sent through the odour of lily and rose, a heavy, overpowering smell into the night' (Stoker 1994, p.206). When Jonathan Harker returns to Dracula's mansion with to destroy Dracula and his vampire wives it is the odour which strikes Harker and Van Helsing the most: 'we were prepared for some unpleasantness, for as we were opening the door a faint, malodorous air seemed to exhale through the gaps, but none of us ever expected such an odour as we encountered' (Stoker 1994, p.299).

Harker continues to associate odour with corruption: 'but as to the odour itself, how shall I describe it? It was not alone that it was composed of all the ills of mortality and with the pungent, acrid smell of blood, but it seemed as though corruption had become itself corrupt' (Stoker 1994, pp.299-300). Van Helsing notes the odour when attempting to destroy one of Dracula's wives: 'there is some fascination, surely, when I am moved by the mere presence of such an one, even lying as she lay in a tomb fretted with age and heavy with the dust of centuries, though there be that horrid odour such as the lairs of the Count have had' (Stoker 1994, p.439). Just like Harker before him, it is right after Van Helsing notes the strong odour that he sees the vampire and becomes paralysed. Just as Joyce used odour and colours like grey and yellow to represent corrosion and corruption, so too does Stoker use odour to symbolise the corrupt and decaying nature of vampires. Lloyd observes that just as Joyce suggests to the

reader that in the 'sites of an apparent suspension of historical motion are the grounds for possible counter-histories' (Lloyd 2011, p.115). For Lloyd, odour has the ability to move and circulate in areas of closure and determination, and simultaneously goes nowhere either in time or space but does become the allegorical counterpart of the aural and oral becoming an 'evanescent material trace that insists on returning and yet remains unavailable for historicist logic; it is the spectre, the revenant, that returns to haunt the spaces of modernity' (Lloyd 2011, p.115). Odour is used as a representation that something from the past is returning to haunt the present, it mocks Harker and Van Helsing as their scientific minds are of no use to them agasint the threat of the vampire and forces them to consider supersitions and traditions that had previously been dismissed by Harker.

While not opposed to modernity in all its forms, the ease of travel for Dracula via various forms of modern transport is also essential in chasing the vampire at the end of the novel. *Dracula* warns of the dangers of a society who disregard older traditions in the belief that modernity and the technological changes it brings do not contain the same danger that the older traditions and beliefs were designed to protect us from. This, at times contradictory, view of tradition and modernity is explained by Bhabha: 'the borderline engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual; they may confound our definitions of tradition and modernity; realign the customary boundaries between the private and the public, high and low; and challenge normative expectations of development and progress' (Bhabha 2004, p.3). It is what Bhabha calls the 'interstices' within the novel which provide a retroactive colonial reading of *Dracula*, these interstices are what Antony Easthope highlights as Bhabha's hybridity being 'essentially Derridean difference applied to colonialist texts' (Easthope 1998, p.353). For Easthope, Bhabha's assertion that the presence of a dominant meaning in a dominant culture 'can be called into question by referring to the hybridity or difference from

which it emerges' (Easthope 1998, p.353). The overlapping of Catholicism and Protestantism, and tradition and modernity are an integral part of a colonial reading of *Dracula.* It is in these interstices that characters like Jonathan Harker have their identity not just challenged but changed as a profound transformation takes place whereby Harker moves from being openly dismissive of religion, superstition and tradition to embracing them in order to survive.

Dracula is a reminder of how powerful the past can be and how older traditions remain like ruins dotting the landscape and have what Lloyd calls 'the structure of myth' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). Dracula leaving his old castle in Transylvania is a symbol of an ancient ruin, the past returning to the present, and Lloyd writes that ruins are 'the part of a past that lives on to find its place and meaning in a relation with the present' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). For Lloyd the strength of myth is not the form or content that it contains but its 'temporal structure' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). Lloyd, however, observes that myth is often seen as not just the return of the past to the present but the return of 'irrational attachments and the violence of primordial drives' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). Lloyd argues that not only does myth return to the present from the past but is 'the return of the *present* to its pasts' [italics in original] (Lloyd 2008, p.17). Myth can only exist in relation to the present, just as Dracula as a symbol of evil can only exist when pitted against the forces of good. Dracula invading London with the intention of colonising it with vampires from the inside out is symbolic of how a society that sacrifices older values in place of modernity risks ruination. However, the history of the vampire and Empire is not restricted to one location, or, indeed, one colonial struggle over another. The power of the vampire is its ability to act as a colonial signifier and subversive agency which critiques and undermines the very colonial powers that it seeks to uphold. Demonstrating how Bhabha's description of the enunciative process introduces a: 'split in the performative present of cultural identification; a split between the traditional culturalist demand for a model, a tradition, a community, a stable

system of reference, and the necessary negation of the certitude in the articulation of new cultural demands, meanings, strategies in the political present, as a practice of domination, or resistance' (Bhabha 2004, p.51).

In *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern State*, Declan Kiberd makes the point that both Britain and Ireland needed each other 'for the purpose of defining itself' (Kiberd 1996, p.2). This is also the case with respect to Dracula who requires the modernity of London and the desire not just to arrive in London but to fit in seamlessly, even though in his native home of Transylvania, Dracula states that 'here I am noble; I am *boyar*; the common people know me, and I am master' [italics in original] (Stoker 1994, p.31). Yet he sacrifices this nobility to risk becoming a 'stranger in a strange land' (Stoker 1994, p.31). The vampire is not just in a literal in-between state as a member of the undead but also as a representation of a colonising force intent on travelling to the heart of one of the world's most powerful colonising forces and transforming them into his own army of obedient and servile vampires.

McCabe's Modernity: Trauma, Postmodernism and 'Unhomely Fictions'

If *Dracula* was a battle of tradition against modernity, where religion and superstition were pitted against science and rational thought, then Patrick McCabe's novel, *Winterwood* (2006), is a novel where colonial modernity and tradition are set in opposition in 21st Century Ireland, and where people are 'shorn of history and oblivious of religion' (McCabe 2006, p.73). *Winterwood* charts Ireland's 'journey from the horrible silence of the paedophile priests and rural poverty into an economically booming, multi-ethnic society' (Welsh 2006). Told through a first-person narrative, Redmond Hatch despises the affluent success of the Celtic Tiger economy and longs for the rural retreat of his hometown of Slievenageeha. He becomes a successful documentary producer leading a millionaire's lifestyle while still returning to his rural roots and craving a romanticised version of Ireland. And it is 'the narrator's chilling duality' (Welsh 2006) that makes him a 21st Century hybrid walking the streets of Dublin in a perpetual state of what Leela Gandhi and David Lloyd would call postcolonial trauma.

At the beginning of *Winterwood*, Hatch is a journalist who travels to the rural area of Slievenageeha where he grew up. While there he visits an old musician and storyteller named Ned Strange, known locally as Auld Pappie. Ned runs a *ceilidh*, a social event which incorporates traditional Irish folk music and storytelling in the mountains of Slievenageeha, to where parents send their children to be exposed to authentic Irish culture. Hatch records Ned's stories and some of them are published, he continues to record the stories long after his job is

finished, and he carries them with him throughout his life. Hatch tells the story of his marriage to Catherine Courtney and the early years of their daughter, Imogen, before they leave Ireland for London.

While in London, Hatch is unable to make a living as a journalist, his wife has an affair and their marriage collapses. A restraining order is issued and Hatch can only see his daughter for a certain amount of time and under supervision. Hatch stages a fake suicide before following his wife and daughter to Dublin during the Celtic Tiger, a name given to a period of economic wealth and success which occurred from the mid-1990s to the late 2000s. He adopts the name Dominic Tiernan and obsessively begins stalking his estranged family. Throughout, Hatch is haunted by the stories of the old musician, Ned Strange, who Hatch discovers was a paedophile and murderer who was sentenced to prison where he killed himself in the showers. And this is a fate Hatch may be doomed to replicate in his incoherent, prescription drug-addled and alcoholic state, as he wanders the streets of a bustling and affluent Dublin during the early noughties. An unreliable narrator, Hatch keeps information to himself, so it is difficult to separate the truth from lies; a point Ned Strange makes repeatedly throughout his discussions with Hatch:

> Of course the whole fucking lot could be a pack of lies, Redmond. Maybe I don't give a fuck about these stupid country songs. Maybe it's like my stories about America. Maybe I didn't ever set foot beyond the mountain. That's a real possibility, isn't it, Redmond? […] How do you know but there never was a sweetheart either? That Annamarie Gordon never even existed?
>
> (McCabe 2006, p.99)

Winterwood charts Hatch at various points in his life from the 1980s to the 1990s and right up to 2006, providing a snapshot of Celtic Tiger Ireland. But like *Dracula*, McCabe's *Winterwood* shows how the past and the present can become entwined, as images of Ireland

past, present and future show a fractured nation through the eyes of a character who has a fractured sense of identity. *Winterwood* examines Irish identity through postmodern and colonial lens' of history, language and culture. McCabe subverts Irish proverbs and clichés within the language of *Winterwood*, exploring memory and trauma to create images of Ireland which are often contradictory. Bhabha describes trauma as a form of double-mimesis when he describes how 'anxiety speaks of the relation of traumatic memory in the realm of agency: anxiety is about the role of affect in the negotiation of coexistence. It is a temporality of expectation: the expectation of trauma based upon the experience of trauma. So it is a kind of double-mimesis' (Schulze-Engler *et al* 2018, p.710). Hatch is demonstrative of this, given that he changes names, jobs and remarries as he runs from traumatic memories and repression, always testing the boundaries between reality and fantasy as his history of sexual abuse, trauma and marriage gradually unfolds. Thus, *Winterwood* examines the fragmentation of Irish identity and its transition in terms of language, history and society.

McCabe analyses national identity through the romantic images of an Ireland that aligns itself with a version of a fiddle playing and whiskey drinking culture, and then to an economically prosperous, multi-cultural society. He takes disarming Irish proverbs and figures of speech, and uses these familiar Irish sayings to subtly subvert them in order to expose the Ireland that lies beneath the surface. Expressions like 'banging out hornpipes to beat the band' (McCabe 2006, p.3), and 'oh, he's a musician all right – but then, of course, he'd be a fiddler by nature!'(McCabe 2006, p.5), first appear in the text almost as lazy writing which rely too much on inane, outdated expressions. However, the description of Strange as a fiddler by nature takes a disturbing turn when Strange is convicted of the rape and murder of a young boy. Throughout the novel the use of the hornpipes celebrates a romanticised vision of Ireland, but when Hatch begins to remember his abusive Uncle Florian it becomes a symbol of the sexual

abuse of a child:

> Right so, Redmond. In here with us now behind the big tree. This is a good place as any, for you and me
>
> to dance our hornpipes. We can dance in here till our fucking heart's content! Get over there now till I get
>
> out my fiddle! Till I get out my fiddle, well boys - ah - dear, ha ha!

<div align="right">(McCabe 2006, p.190)</div>

The language McCabe uses here is executed as tired old Irish clichés but become weapons of violence and rape. The phallic symbol of the hornpipe, the sexual innuendo that both horn and pipe insinuate takes the idyllic hornpipe and fiddle playing image of Ireland and subverts it to expose Ireland's history of sexual abuse. McCabe uses the main character, Redmond Hatch, to chart the silence of the Roman Catholic Church and the Irish public in dealing with paedophile priests.

Hatch, a journalist who grew up in the mountains of Slievenageeha but left home to pursue journalism, is dating Catherine Courtney and settles into a 'predictable, pedantic, assumed new suburbanism' (McCabe 2006, p.15). In 1981, Hatch is given an assignment to write an article on 'folklore and changing ways in Ireland' (McCabe 2006, p.3). The assignment takes him back to his hometown of Slievenageeha, where he meets Ned Strange, Hatch's future *doppelgänger*, who follows Hatch throughout the novel and at various points in his life, even after Hatch learns that Ned died in prison. Ned Strange is a blend of nostalgic romanticism for an Ireland that is rapidly fading, and a violent paedophile and a compulsive liar who claims to have murdered his wife, Annemarie Gordon. Hatch's first observation is that people do not know the lyrics of the songs and he puts this down to the fact that prosperity has 'begun to take hold of the valley with such ballads perceived as somewhat out of date' (McCabe 2006, p.4). Hatch is aware of Strange's violent outbursts and his casual malice when it comes to exposing the abusive behaviour of Hatch's family. Initially, Hatch is swept up in the nostalgia of this

'whiskery old-timer sawing away at his fiddle, stomping out hornpipes to beat the band' (McCabe 2006, p.3). Ned reveals the abusive family that Hatch had, how his father beat his mother and, as a result, died from a brain haemorrhage before his father and his Uncle Florian put him in a religious run-orphanage. Hatch, having lost his job, turns to drinking before faking his own death and returning to Ireland as Dominic Tiernan, where Catherine and Imogen now reside. For Liam Harte this return is evidence of how: 'McCabe frequently deploys the Gothic trope of the returning revenant to represent the continuing anxieties that fester behind Ireland's brash façade of new-found capitalist modernity' (Harte 2009, p.206).

Hatch, however, discovers that Ireland in the late 1990s is a vastly different place to the Ireland of the 1980s. Hatch now occupies a modern, wealthy Ireland that appears to have removed the ideological restraints of religion that had held a theocratic influence over political and social institutions. Hatch is still linked to Ireland's past so that he 'occupies an urban contemporary Ireland on the upswing; at the same time, he is irrevocably linked to the rural and impoverished romantic Ireland of his youth, newly repackaged for modern consumption as a version of "authentic" Ireland' (Peterson 2009, p.51). Once back in Ireland, Hatch discovers the booming economy and mass consumerism of Celtic Tiger Ireland, and he becomes a remnant of Ireland's dark history. When he discovers that Ned Strange has been arrested for the murder and rape of a young boy before committing suicide in prison, the news 'adumbrates the national scandals of the 1990s concerning the abuse of Ireland's institutionalized children' (Peterson 2009, p.52). Hatch begins to disassociate himself from Ned Strange and notes how Irish people quickly forget: 'Most people by now had forgotten the old idiot. Perverts like him were in the news every day. Ned Strange was just another old relic, a forgotten memory from a country that had more or less vanished, now that the modern world had long last arrived' (McCabe 2006, p.182).

Hatch is stuck between the past and the present, caught between bouts of sanity and madness. Haunted by the ghost of Ned Strange, he abducts his own daughter and murders her in the same woods where his Uncle Florian abused him. This corresponds with Bhabha's theory that 'the unhomely moment relates the traumatic ambivalences of a personal, psychic history to the wider disjunctions of political existence' (Bhabha 2004, p.15). And we can contextualise McCabe's deployment of 'the unhomely moment' through Bhabha's reading of Toni Morrison's 1987 novel, *Beloved*. *Beloved* begins in 1873 in Cincinnati, Ohio, where Sethe, a former slave, has been living with her eighteen-year-old daughter Denver. Sethe's mother-in-law, Baby Suggs, lived with them until her death eight years earlier. Just before Baby Suggs's death, Sethe's two sons, Howard and Buglar, ran away. Sethe believes they fled because of the malevolent presence of an abusive ghost that has haunted their house at 124 Bluestone Road for years. Denver, however, likes the ghost, which everyone believes to be the spirit of her dead sister. It is revealed that Sethe, after escaping and joining her children at 124 Bluestone Road, four horsemen came to return her children and her to a life of slavery. Sethe, terrified of returning to slavery, runs to the woodshed with her children to kill them, but only managed to kill her eldest daughter and the only word she could afford to etch on the headstone was Beloved.

Bhabha observes how Beloved is a 'demonic, belated repetition of the violent history of black infant deaths, during slavery, in many parts of the South' (Bhabha 2004, p.15), and describes how as the reader reconstructs the narrative of infanticide though the eyes of Sethe, we realise that Sethe is 'herself a victim of social death' (Bhabha 2004, p.16), he notes how Morrison creates a 'harrowing ethical repositioning of the slave mother' (Bhabha 2004, p.23). For Bhabha this unhomely moment does not just create a radical revision but it also contains a reclamation of freedom as infanticide can be seen as 'an act against the master's property-

against his surplus profits' (Bhabha 2004, p.24). The death and then swift return of Beloved to 124 Bluestone Road shows how a 'reclamation takes place' (Bhabha 2004, p.24). For Bhabha the return of Beloved is the 'daughter that returns to Sethe so that her mind will be homeless no more […] the sister that returns to Denver, and brings her hope of her father's return, the fugitive who died in his escape' (Bhabha 2004, p.25). When Beloved returns and speaks, her voice is fragmented and her words are broke like 'the lynched people with broken necks […] disembodied, like the dead children who lost their ribbons' (Bhabha 2004, p.25).

Ned Strange, the convicted murderer and paedophile is the repetition of the dark history of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and the physical and sexual abuses of the children left in the care of Church-run institutions. The abuse that Hatch inflicts on his wife and daughter forces the reader to reconstruct the narrative of child abuse through someone who has not only been abused but is himself an abuser so that the 'historical basis of our ethical judgement undergoes a radical revision' (Bhabha 2004, p.16). Hatch displays his mimesis when he metamorphoses into a successful television producer. As his life becomes hugely successful, the steady deterioration of his mind is chartered as 'McCabe's shape-shifting protagonists embody a post-colonial society in a state of chronic fragmentation, restless self-interrogation and profound dis-ease' (Harte 2009, p.206). When Hatch discovers that his second wife, Casey, is having an affair, he quits his job working at RTÉ, the National Broadcaster of Ireland, and becomes a taxi driver. This allows him to meet his ex-wife Catherine whom he abducts and murders. Hatch takes on a Gothic form as the repressed returns to haunt the present. For Harte, again:

> *Winterwood* dramatises the lethal effects of repressed historical memory through the spectral persona of Redmond Hatch/Ned Strange/Dominic Tiernan. This mutating monster is at once abused child and abusive adult, doting father and psychopathic paedophile, custodian of 'the authentic spirit of heritage and tradition' and harbinger of a vacuous postmodernity.

All three characters have their authenticity blurred by McCabe so that it becomes impossible to tell which characters are real and which are the products of the imagination of the real character. Identity itself becomes impossible and, with identity, motive becomes a constantly shifting fog of abuse and murder. Furthermore, Ireland's history of child abuse is confronted, with Eugene O'Brien noting how 'the novel faces up to one of the core issues facing contemporary Ireland but does so in an idiosyncratic manner which captures the 'imaginative truth' of such abuse in a more authentic way than documentary evidence could achieve' (O' Brien 2008, p.14). McCabe suggests that while a lot of writers believe it is dangerous to forget the past, McCabe highlights that it is equally dangerous to remember the past through a veil of nostalgia that clouds clarity of vision as Ned, Dominic and Hatch do. Freud's belief that 'the earliest recollections of a person often seemed to preserve the unimportant and accidental, whereas … not a trace is found in the adult memory of the weighty and affective impressions of this period' (Brill 1995, p.32), has special significance here. Freud highlighted this displacement of memory in 'Screen Memories', where he proposed that this displacement of memory was, in fact, better termed as a replacement of memory. Freud noted how some of his patients who had experienced trauma reported having mundane memories with no obvious reason, significance or value, stored in their memories and that these would keep recurring. Freud proposed that this was a result of memories that were too traumatic to be processed at the time. As these two opposing memories clash, it is the screen memory that conceals the traumatic memory: 'one of them takes the importance of the experience as a motive for wanting to be remembered, but the other – the force of resistance – opposes this preferential choice' (Freud 2003, p.7). Hatch focusses on small mundane memories, recalling how his daughter Imogen liked the Care Bears when she was a child but represses the fact that

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he has abducted and murdered his daughter. He speaks as if she is still alive and still the same age with the same likes and interests, despite the fact that more than a decade has passed since he last spoke to her.

Hillbilly Valley

One of the colonial aspects of *Winterwood* that forms a significant part of Hatch's fragmented identity is the mimicry that Hatch is capable of performing. He joins the elite millionaires of Celtic Tiger Ireland when he becomes a successful documentary producer for RTÉ. He marries Casey Breslin, an American woman who, along with others, offers disparaging comments on Hatch's childhood home and the people he grew up with. In what Bhabha calls a process of disavowal, Hatch celebrates these derisory comments while still returning to Slievenageeha and resorting to the violence of Ned Strange, his ghostly *doppelgänger*. Hatch rejects modernity for an authentic and romanticised vision of Ireland while simultaneously accepting modernity by becoming a successful documentary producer. Hatch's contradictory sense of identity is a central part of McCabe's attempts to challenge traditional icons by subverting both the notion of the storyteller, which holds high status in Ireland and the concept of pure and simple truth that McCabe demonstrates is rarely pure and never simple.

Both Hatch and Ned strike up an unlikely friendship which lasts the entirety of the novel as they both enter the Celtic Tiger economy of Ireland. Hatch, however, is an alcoholic who has become addicted to prescription drugs, he drifts in and out of emergency accommodation and homeless hostels as his trauma follows him through the streets of the city. The return of Ned Strange, who killed himself while in prison, puts Hatch in a permanent state of existential dread wondering if he is losing his mind or if the ghost of Ned Strange has returned to haunt him. His state of mind moves from believing that Ned is an actual supernatural event to the absurdness

of a dead man following him around Dublin City in broad daylight, 'then I'd have a few drinks and realise how absurd it all was – sitting in a pub, considering what effectively were mere symptoms, by-products of stress. — Ghosts! I'd laugh' (McCabe 2006, p.55). Leela Gandhi observes how 'the colonial aftermath calls for an ameliorative and therapeutic theory which is responsive to the task of remembering and recalling the colonial past' (cited in Lloyd 2008 p.22). The concept of a place post-conflict is what leads Bhabha to find a method that 'would speak to the 'unhomely' condition of the modern world' (Bhabha 2004, p.16). To accomplish this, Bhabha posits that a world literature emerging 'from the cultural confusion wrought by terrible wars and mutual conflicts' (Bhabha 2004, p.16), would provide an insight into the complex and nuanced 'cultural situation where 'previously unrecognized spiritual and intellectual needs' emerge from the imposition of 'foreign' ideas, cultural representations, and structures of power' (Bhabha 2004, p.17). Hatch is traumatised by the sexual abuse he was a victim of during his childhood, but the trauma Hatch experiences when he walks around a Dublin so different from the Dublin of the 1980s is defined by the changes he sees in the city:

> I consoled myself by thinking that if I had become debilitatingly civilised and grown apart from my people and background, then at least I wasn't alone, for everyone in the valley was doing exactly that — if the gaudy identikit housing was anything to go by, not to mention the transatlantic accents and the sprawling housing developments, with names more appropriate to Surrey than Slievenageeha: 'Meadow Vale', 'Primrose Demesne', 'The Chantries'.

> (McCabe 2006, p.15)

Aligning with Anderson's theories on imaginary communities, Bhabha, quoting Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, states that 'the inner nature of the whole nation as well as the individual man works all unconsciously' (Bhabha 2004, p.17). Bhabha places this with the idea that the 'cultural life of the nation is 'unconsciously' lived' (Bhabha 2004, p.17), and states that there

could be a 'sense in which world literature could be an emergent, prefigurative category […] where non-consensual terms of affiliation may be established on the grounds of historical trauma' (Bhabha 2004, p.17).

Bhabha writes that such an undertaking would require a 'focus on those 'freak social and cultural displacements' that Morrison and Gordimer represent in their 'unhomely' fictions' (Bhabha 2004, p.17). McCabe demonstrates such displacements with Hatch. Hatch murders his daughter and acts as if she were alive by bringing her gifts and talking to her corpse up in the mountains of Slievenageeha near a defunct factory called Rohan's Confectionery, a location he remembers from his youth. Freud admits that his own use of psychoanalysis on patients reveals that 'nervous persons afflicted with compulsive thinking and compulsive states […] show very plainly that superstition originates from repressed hostile and cruel impulses' (Brill 1995, p165). Not only does Hatch try to resurrect his dead daughter but he attempts to resurrect an older version of Dublin as well. At this point in the novel, the net is closing in on Hatch, police are looking for him, detectives are piecing together how his first wife and his daughter went missing, their bodies are soon discovered and Hatch's various identities and web of lies are unravelling. He quits his job at RTÉ and slowly transforms himself physically and mentally into Auld Pappie, a *doppelganger* of Ned Strange, eventually leaving Dublin for Slievenageeha. For Freud this would demonstrate how the 'greater part of superstition signifies fear of impending evil, and he who has frequently wished evil to others, but has repressed the same into the unconscious, will be particularly apt to expect punishment for such unconscious evil in the form of a misfortune threatening him' (Brill 1995, p.165). This is a prominent characteristic of Hatch, no matter which identity, personality or life he assumes. The fear of his past and his dysfunctional relationship with that past evoke feelings of dread. This is evident when his second wife, Casey, refers to Ned Strange as an inbred hillbilly. Hatch, having

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decided to leave the past behind him for good, demands that she: 'call him that again. I pleaded, say it again, Casey! I felt so empowered I was almost delirious' (McCabe 2006, p.155). Casey scornfully laughs at the place where he was born and when he tells her stories about Ned Strange and shows her the newspaper clippings he has kept in his wallet since the 1980s, she says, 'get over it why don't you!' (McCabe 2006, p.153).

However, when Casey goes away on a business meeting and leaves Hatch in their apartment on his own, he acknowledges that 'somewhere, deep down, it hurt me a little. Because after all it was my home' (McCabe 2006, p.183). It is this displacement that puts McCabe's *Winterwood* firmly in concert with Bhabha's unhomely fictions, and tallies with Freud's argument that the repression of cruelty creates an expectation of malevolent and external punishment throughout the novel. Hatch is a part of an affluent and economically confident contemporary Ireland that is scaling the heights of both modernity and capitalism, but he is also 'unable to escape the past despite his economically viable future' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.104). Hatch is a writer of nostalgic travel books, which sell a romanticised version of Ireland. When Hatch returns to Ireland in the 1990s, he finds an urban Dublin setting which is now a city filled with shopping centres, a confident and sexually liberated youth, drugs, nightclubs, mansions worth millions of Euro while 'rural Ireland coils around its feet, a venomous mixture of provincialism, hospitality, and folksiness' (Peterson 2009, p.51). But for Hatch he views these changes in a negative light, coming to the conclusion that this new confident generation of Irish are 'shorn of religion' (McCabe 2006, p.73) and are overly aggressive and obsessed by a consumerist culture. However, Hatch readily conforms to this culture when given the opportunity to create documentaries and lead an equivalent lifestyle before returning to despising the Celtic Tiger lifestyle as the dread of being discovered increases.

Winterwood details how Ireland negotiated its way through the silence of priests within the

Catholic Church and the subsequent abuse of children placed in Church-run institutions to the Celtic Tiger years when a vibrant, multi-cultural Ireland is taking shape. Irvine Welsh notes that in this negotiation with modernity, McCabe evokes 'the quiet, mordant desperation behind the gung-ho positivism of the "craic is mighty" brigade, that coping mechanism of Ireland and the Irish diaspora over the decades of economic and social hardship' (Welsh 2006). For Hatch, the trauma of remembering the abuse he suffered at the hands of his Uncle Florian makes his identity crumble and merge with Ned, a convicted rapist and murderer. Even the imaginary world of *Winterwood*, a fictional place from the children's television series, *My Little Pony*, cannot save him as the 'Celtic Tiger is no haven for Hatch who discovers that, as in most places of enchantment, there is no safety in the timeless "no place" of Winterwood' (Peterson 2009, p.56). Again this seems to accord with Bhabha's summation of Lacan's work as 'this kind of inside/out/outside/in space a moment of *extimite*: a traumatic moment of the 'not-there' (Morrison)' (Bhabha 2004, p.296). As his traumatic past merges with his present, Ned and Hatch assimilate in what O'Brien describes as 'a postmodernist portrait of an uncertain and divided self' (O'Brien 2008, p.19).

Winterwood has a postmodern structure which challenges the traditional *Bildungsroman* form, the narrative moves forward and backwards in time, moving between the 1980s, the 1990s and the 2000s with ease. However, while the traditional *Bildungsroman* monitored the growth of a character's development from childhood to maturity, *Winterwood* disperses the details of Hatch's childhood 'spatially across the novel, and temporally scattered across his life, through unreliable and changeable narratives of memory' (O'Brien 2008, p.9). Throughout the novel 'childhood details are given analeptically, and in a fractured manner, so it is left to the reader to piece them together and, even then, the pieces do not make a complete whole' (O'Brien 2008, p.9). Exactly which character is speaking at any one time is never definitively

revealed, whether it is Ned Strange speaking at the end of the novel, Redmond Hatch or his Uncle Florian or the possibility that any combination of these characters could be hallucinations is never revealed, allowing the reader to form their own conclusions. O'Brien writes that this merging of characters is a deconstruction of the *Bildungsroman* and uses Lacan to explain the multiple characters and their voices:

> In Lacanian terms, the subject who is speaking is directly related to the subject who is listening. In this case, we can transpose speaking with writing, and it is well to remember the fact that Redmond Hatch is dead should not be a problem as Ned Strange is long since dead in the chronology of the novel.

<div align="right">(O'Brien 2008, p.13)</div>

This narrative style blurs the identity of a definitive character identity in a way that 'the extimate moment would be the 'repetition' of rumour' (Bhabha 2004, p.296). For Bhabha the panic of the chapatti is 'a displacement of, and defence against the Enfield rifle' (Bhabha 2004, p.297). The panic that consumes Hatch when faced with the Celtic Tiger economy of Dublin in the early 21st Century causes him to abandon and assume various identities in order to camouflage himself mentally and physically within his new surroundings. However, unable to maintain any of the identities that he has created for himself with any credibility, he reverts back to a Ned Strange *doppelganger* towards the end of the novel, revealing that at much earlier points in the novel he had been compared to Ned Strange in manner and physical appearance so that 'in parts of the book, there is a blurring of all three characters as the subject suffers a dehiscence into multiple personality' (O'Brien 2008, p.14). This postcolonial trauma leads to a psychotic break with reality, as Hatch descends into murder and madness:

> We do not know if Ned Strange and Uncle Florian are a composite figure. We do not know if Redmond hallucinates the images and voice of the long-dead Ned, or if he sees his ghost. We do not find out until later in the book, and it is all the more frightening for that, that Redmond has killed his daughter and that

his visits to Winterwood, the place of her imagination, are to her corpse, and that it is to her corpse that he reads his stories of *Where the Wild Things Are*.

(O'Brien 2008, p.14)

If, as we have noted above, *Beloved* is a repetition of the violent history of black infant deaths, Hatch is another one of Bhabha's unhomely pieces of fiction. *Winterwood* becomes a repetition of the history of child abuse in Ireland and the silence which permeated Irish society which allowed the abuse to continue and avoid any kind of scrutiny:

With its major theme of childhood abuse, the novel faces up to one of the core issues facing contemporary Ireland but does so in an idiosyncratic manner which captures the 'imaginative truth' of such abuse in a more authentic way than documentary evidence could achieve.

(O' Brien, 2008, p.14)

Returning to Bhabha's reading of *Beloved*, he suggests that the novel displays 'the 'speed' of panic at the site of rebel politics, or indeed, the temporality of psychoanalysis in the writing of history' (Bhabha 2004, p.296). *Winterwood* also displays this, as McCabe chooses to represent a traumatised and broken character by fracturing the structure of the novel itself. The narrative does not follow a chronological order but instead moves backwards and forwards through time, using an unreliable narrator to tell the story before literally abandoning that character as the end of the novel is relayed through the voice of an unnamed person or demonic entity. The merging of all the narrators towards the end of the novel leaves the reader with decisions to make regarding who is narrating the novel, who is real or imaginary, dead or alive, and regardless of who is narrating or what their status is, are they telling the truth? These are left open to the reader to interpret. However, what this merging and blurring of narrators does is provide a third hybrid space where all versions of Hatch from the modern 21st Century millionaire soaking up the Celtic Tiger era of decadence to the Hatch who longs for a traditional

Ireland co-exist as one amorphous cycle of personalities so that 'Hatch is unable to escape his hell; there is no redemption through the modern or the traditional' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.104). This is a point further demonstrated by the inability of Hatch to end the story that he began as an unnamed narrator, which can be read as Ned Strange, who speaks at the end of the novel stating that Hatch has failed to transcend a certain point:

> Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to allow Redmond Hatch to conclude his own story. Regrettably, however, that is impossible. There are times, it has to be acknowledged, when he will make the most valiant efforts. But somehow he never seems to transcend a certain point.

> (McCabe 2006, p.239)

This amalgamation of personalities and narrators does, however, provide an insight into Bhabha's theory that the 'margin of hybridity, where cultural differences 'contingently' and conflictual touch, becomes the moment of panic which reveals the borderline experience' (Bhabha 2004, p.296). Hatch can now be read as a third space of enunciation where the traditional Irish, fiddle playing Ned Strange, the successful Celtic Tiger era documentary maker, and the paedophile Uncle Florian all exist, overlaying and touching off one another. Just as Lloyd notes that Joyce's use of paralysis and odour in *Dubliners* highlights male rage in colonial Ireland in the early part of the 20th Century, the merging of Hatch and Ned demonstrates a colonial doubling, and it is:

> Through this doubling, Ned and Red together come to embody the essence of the postcolonial trauma victim, caught between two enchanted worlds in a "strange place" while fully inhabiting neither. And if, as Homi Bhabha suggests of the postcolonial condition, "the un-spoken, unrepresented pasts... haunt the historical present," Red can no more escape Ned than he can escape his own history.

> (Peterson 2009, p.56)

As the new millennium ushers in the prosperity of the Celtic Tiger, Hatch creates and

then embraces a new identity. Using this identity he finds himself in a new job where he makes successful documentaries about Ireland. He has a two-million Euro apartment in Dublin, he has remarried and he is held in high regard. Hatch's new wife looks at Hatch's childhood with disdain, referring to Slievenageeha as 'hillbilly valley' (McCabe 2006, p.183), and links 'the mountain culture of his childhood to America's Appalachia, a disparaging comparison from her perspective, but notably, one that evokes another area that domicide left to languish in the toxic waste of progress for the "common good"' (Peterson 2009, p.57). As far as Casey is concerned, Hatch is lucky to have escaped his backward, poverty-ridden childhood home to become a part of the civilised modern world where 'fathers and brothers don't fuck their sisters and mothers don't die of brain haemorrhages after being beaten by brutes to within an inch of their poor wretched lives!"' (McCabe 2006, p.183). Hatch revels in Casey's opinions on his childhood home and the people who live there, it provides him with a sense of relief that he can finally leave his childhood behind: 'Call him that again, I pleaded, say it again, Casey!' I felt so empowered I was almost delirious' (McCabe 2006, p.155). This is a moment of epiphany for Hatch, having escaped Ned Strange and Slievenageeha, he has found a place in the multicultural and affluent Ireland that he can call his own and where he can prosper, both professionally and personally.

However, this moment of epiphany is starkly contrasted with a previous moment of clarity when he abducts Imogen, his teenage daughter, in his car. He experiences a moment of clarity as he struggles with Imogen, where he recognises how his approach to his daughter has gone horribly wrong. The car is careening down the motorway, he has lost control of both the car and the struggle with his daughter and becomes self-aware:

> If only I'd demonstrated some measure of poise. The tiniest approximation of some kind of equanimity.
> That surely ought not to have been at all difficult, even for someone as ineffectual as Redmond Hatch or

Place or Tiernan or Strange or whatever the fuck my name was supposed to be. It really ought not to have been quite so difficult. Even for Redmond the cuckold from the country. Even for a pathetic mountain mongrel such as me.

(McCabe 2006, p.136)

Hatch becomes aware of an aspect of his personality for the first time, his use of false names and identities are no longer places for him to hide, as he sees though his own deceptions. He acknowledges that he lacks 'any kind of equanimity' (McCabe 2006, p.136), and lives his life careening from one crisis to the next, moving swiftly through abuse, fake suicides, false names and a myriad of lies as he exists in an almost permanent panic, wondering if he is hallucinating or seeing ghosts, sane or insane. For Hatch, though, the final and ultimate epiphany occurs outside a church in Dublin. This is the point of no return for Hatch:

The novel becomes darker. Redmond learns with disgust of Strange's sexual assault and murder of a Slievenageeha boy, and of his subsequent suicide. Strange's taunting, all too-solid ghost appears to the destitute Redmond. He leaves a photograph of Redmond as a child, taken in a pinewood by Florian. Traumatized, and rudderless without his family, Redmond begins drinking. He reaches breaking point – and the book its turning point – outside a Dublin church. A voice warns Redmond that if he chooses evil, he must accept the consequences. But he no longer cares and another voice comes. ''Redmond,' I heard, softly whispered in the wind, 'You know you can trust me. I'll look after you. Till the very last pea is out of the pot, till the angels quit the hallowed halls of heaven'' (W, 59).

(O'Brien, 2008, p.10)

It is this disavowal that Bhabha would describe as a 'process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different, a mutation, a hybrid' (Bhabha 2004, p.159). Despite his apparent detachment from his childhood home, Hatch can never leave Slievenageeha, like Bhabha's mutation he returns

to the pine forests of Slievenageeha on a regular basis throughout the novel, consistently having moments of epiphany where he promises himself that he is finally finished with the past but is never entirely finished with his traumatic past.

In *Winterwood*, McCabe uses the modernised urban environment to reflect the fragmentation of Hatch's psychological state, his attitude towards women, and his obsession with Ned Strange. The confusion and dislocation caused by the rapid urban expansion shows how Hatch is caught in a cultural confusion. This sense of disorientation is epitomised by the naming of the newly created housing developments in Dublin, which he associates with Surrey and not with more traditional Irish names. Ireland's colonial history with the British Empire has always seen placenames having a dual nature, as seen in Chapter One with the English word, 'fairy', taking the place of the Irish word *sídhe*. The word fairy still retains its Irish folkloric history of a malignant creature that interaction with should be avoided at all costs. In this context, the modernity that Hatch sees taking place in Ireland is an amorphous creation that cannot be visualised:

> In common with so many other places in Dublin, it's been utterly transformed, with swirling concrete motorway intersections and endlessly pounding, remorseless traffic. The city seems blighted, almost out of control: the carnage on the roads continues as though some inconsequential, diverting carnival. You are hunted in and out of shops, glared at by security men bloated on steroids. Old-timers haunt the fringes of the city, afraid to penetrate its boundaries lest they be set upon by the young: arraigned and made to give an account of themselves.

> (McCabe 2006, p.51)

Lloyd states that trauma is not defined as ongoing intense psychological pain but as a 'state of what is strictly terror' (Lloyd 2008, p.23). Throughout the novel, Hatch is in a near constant state of terror, he relives his childhood rape in an apartment in Portobello, when the

dead Ned Strange reappears in his apartment. Hatch continually looks for safe spaces within the city where he can find some solace from his psychological terror and constant anxiety. One of the places he returns to is a restaurant that he visited with his ex-wife, Catherine Courtney. The restaurant is a place he associates with happier times, when he was young and in love and looking forward to marriage and the birth of his daughter, but once he goes back he discovers that it has drastically changed:

> I knew the restaurant. We'd frequented it together, once upon a time. But it wasn't called Rudyard's now — it was a pasta place, where they ate alfresco, an indication of what was to come, the Temple Bar area developing into the epicentre of Dublin's hedonistic empire, a playground exclusively populated by louche adolescent Euro-ramblers and indigenous chemical-fuelled youths vertiginously wading in the currents of an ever-expanding opalescent ocean, shorn of history and oblivious of religion.

(McCabe 2006, p.73)

The restaurant is not the only significant location frequented by Hatch; we also note the pub in Rathfarnham, from where he can watch his ex-wife and daughter in their new home, living a happy and tranquil life in Dublin; his mountain home of Slievenageeha, and an old confectionery factory called Rohan's Confectionery up in the mountains of Slievenageeha. The factory is where Ned raped and killed a young boy, it is also where Hatch brings his murdered daughter and ex-wife. These places become spaces where his fractured sense of identity, memory and his hybrid double vision that links him to Ned Strange are not at odds with the colonial modernity that threatens him in Dublin, as he notes 'for far too long I'd been living a lie. The truth was that in my heart of hearts, I had never liked the city. Had never, at any time, *truly* settled there' [italics in original] (McCabe 2006, pp.217-218). Hatch is correct when he claims that he is living a lie, false names and identities are scattered across the novel, however, just like the epiphanies reveal Hatch's inability to ever assume one set of fabricated

characteristics for any prolonged period of time, so, too, do his memories change.

The restaurant is no longer the restaurant he visited with his first wife, the quite, gloomy, Irish pubs have bright surround sound flat screen televisions and Sky Sports, even Slievenageeha is no longer the mountain valley he once worshipped as modernity transforms it into an industrial park:

> Slievenageeha Lidl is the name of the new retail centre in the town and Liebhraus is the construction company. The American microchip plant Intel employs in excess of 2,000 people with plans for further expansion already well advanced, towards what is predicted will be a mini California-style silicon valley. A spaghetti junction swirls way beyond the mountain. To accommodate the high-powered eighteen-wheeler diesel trucks, honking along the five-lane motorway, belching great clouds of thick smoky dust.
>
> (McCabe 2006, p.225)

By this stage, Hatch is living rough in the mountain valley, and on occasion 'I'll creep, as I must, out of this dank hole' (McCabe 2006, p.226), and when he does, he recognises the changes and realises for, arguably, the first time, that there is no room in modern Ireland for the past he longs to re-create: 'no, hillbillies here! You'll be told. No room for sheep-screwers in here, my friend' (McCabe 2006, p.226). And yet Hatch still attempts to resurrect the past with Ned Strange and his wife, Annemarie Gordon: 'it's nice to sit here and listen to the water babbling – right at the spot where, all those years ago, back in God's old time, Ned Strange first walked out with Annemarie Gordon' (McCabe 2006, p.226). These false memories and selective remembering are what Gandhi describes in the following terms:

> Bhabha's account of the therapeutic agency of remembering is built upon the maxim that memory is the submerged and constitutive bedrock of conscious existence. While some memories are accessible to consciousness, others, which are blocked and banned—sometimes with good reason—perambulate the unconscious in dangerous ways, causing seemingly inexplicable symptoms in everyday life.

Similarly, Lloyd writes that one of the main tasks facing anti-colonial nationalism is to create what therapists call safe spaces and 'these spaces are usually ones initially withdrawn from the public sphere' (Lloyd 2011, p.25). Hatch's inability to prevent himself from going to these places, the dark, quiet, pub and the desolate mountains is not to be a part of some therapeutic recovery 'in the sense of a lost self or a lost culture, but to elicit out of an apprehended loss and its perpetuated damage a subject whose very condition is a transformation' (Lloyd 2011, p.25).

Cracks, however, are starting to appear in the façade of his false memories, as Hatch finally faces the truth that his memories are not just gone with no hope of returning but they were mostly false to begin with. As he sits beside the babbling brook noting how the 'noise from the Liebhruas can, at times, prove unbearable, the roar of diggers and drills and grinders like some mundane, prosaic but insanely dogged anti-symphony' (McCabe 2006, p.226), he attempts to recreate a false memory where Ned and Annemarie Gordon stayed together and had a child 'not only become his wife, in fact, but give him a son' (McCabe 2006, p.226). He imagines what a great father Ned Strange would be, he fabricates a loving conversation they have between themselves, then he is confronted with the truth and realises that there was no baby ever born 'because of course, Ned Strange never did have a son. No, no 'baby Owen' was ever to be delivered of Annamarie Gordon, for Ned Strange or anyone else' (McCabe 2006, p.227).

As Hatch's ultimate safe space disintegrates so, too, does he, and the voice that warned him outside the Church of having to suffer the consequences of choosing evil returns: 'What exactly did you expect? he says to me. You can't say, I didn't warn you. Something dreadful's what I promised, something's dreadful's what you got. It's nothing more than you ought to have expected' (McCabe 2006, p.228). What Hatch has to face is the truth, he is a liar and murderer caught in a hellish cycle of murder and lies that is of his own making. As his false memories

no longer protect him, Hatch can no longer narrate the story, an unnamed entity, presumably the spirit of Ned Strange, takes over as Hatch is found dead in his apartment. K. Brisley-Brennan notes that 'Ned Strange operates in the novel as a representation of Irish tradition and history in the fictional mountain-valley village of Slievenageeha. In this way, Ned is the spirit of a past that retains a hold, even a possession, over Ireland's present' (Brisley-Brennan 2019, p.38). Hatch recognises the relevance of returning to these places as anchors which prevent him being swept away by the Celtic Tiger when he observes that:

> Ned, unencumbered as he was by any new and imported orthodoxy, had, by common consent, come to embody the authentic spirit of heritage and tradition. It was as if it had been decided that simply having Ned was sufficient. That was enough to keep them in touch with their fast fading traditions and customs of the past.

> (McCabe 2006, p.16)

For Lloyd, the after-effects of colonialism can be seen as the same effects any trauma would have on an individual; the effects of trauma on a person can be 'the will to forget or amnesia of the victim in relation to the terror of the occasion; the consequent dissociation and dislocation of the person, which generally introduces a sense of fragmentation; and above all, the 'unspeakableness' of the trauma itself' (Lloyd 2011, p.25). Hatch has repressed his traumatic childhood, following Bhabha's belief that 'denial is always a retroactive process; a half acknowledgement of that otherness has left its traumatic mark' (Bhabha 2004, p.88). Hatch has repressed so many of his own memories that when Ned tells him things about his family, how his father beat his mother to death, how his Uncle Florian was not the innocent person that people believed him to be, Hatch is not sure if Ned is telling the truth because he himself is unsure of these events. His traumatic assault at the hands of his Uncle Florian only returns to Hatch much later on in his life, and in this way, 'Ned Strange also represents the re-creation of

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that history of abuse, because Ned, who beats and drowns his wife before raping and murdering Michael Gallagher, is also Redmond Hatch, the protagonist of *Winterwood* who kidnaps and drugs his own daughter and who was himself sexually molested by a male adult, seemingly Ned' (Brisley-Brennan 2019, p.38).

Mirroring the very structure of the novel, Hatch has a profoundly fragmented identity and as the narrator blurs the line between fact and fiction, a fact only enhanced towards the end of the novel when the dead Ned Strange narrates the final chapter of the novel. This fragmentation and dislocation are both physically and psychologically part of the 'initiating terrorization of the person' (Lloyd 2011, p.25). The trauma for Hatch is so overwhelming that he has no option but to black out in the face of a pain that 'would obliterate the subject' (Lloyd 2011, p.25). This fragmentation and dislocation is noted by O'Brien where he describes how:

> Redmond Hatch lies all the time, and the reader is left unsure of many of the key points of the narrative. The growth from childhood is there but one finds the details of that childhood scattered spatially across the novel, and temporally scattered across his life, through unreliable and changeable narratives of memory. Childhood details are given analeptically, and in a fractured manner, so it is left to the reader to piece them together and even then, the pieces do not make a complete whole.

> (O'Brien 2008, p.26)

As Hatch studies Celtic Tiger Dublin, with its strip clubs and glitzy nightclubs, the ethnic minorities which now reside in Ireland, and the new found wealth and confidence of a young and vibrant Ireland, he becomes a victim of not just what Lloyd would call colonial modernity. For Lloyd, state created nationalisms respond to 'this paralysing sense of loss' (Lloyd 2011, p.29), by attempting to create a new culture around a 'reinvention of tradition' (Lloyd 2011, p.29). When they do this, they are re-producing the effects of colonial modernity by 'selecting and canonizing elements of the colonized culture that can be refunctioned within the terms of

the modern state' (Lloyd 2011, p.29). The harmful effects of this are demonstrated in *Winterwood* by Hatch and Ned Strange being cast aside by modernity and struggling to forge an identity, and settle into a community in much the same way that people like John Dunne, in *The Burning of Bridget Cleary*, were forced to live at the fringes of society as their once valid beliefs are cast aside by modernity. This demonstrates how the traditions and the people who hold onto them and cannot be appropriated by modernity to recreate this new culture are relegated to a 'position of [a] backwardness' (Lloyd 2011, p.29).

We see this is reflected in *Winterwood*, when we return to the period when Hatch was a successful producer of documentaries, and his wife demonstrates a dismissive attitude towards Hatch's childhood home and the people who live there, referring to all residents of Slievenageeha as hillbillies: 'Hillbilly valley! I could hear her laughing as we shared a glass, you sure did well to get outta that place. You did well to abandon them and all their malice, the ludicrous suspicions and hostility towards that great big world beyond their mountain — the civilised world, in other words' (McCabe 2006, p.183). Casey contrasts the traditions of Hatch's people with the modernity that lies beyond the mountains, and this was an accusation his first wife, Catherine, levelled at him on more than one occasion: 'You can be canny, can't you, Redmond Hatch? Quite resourceful when it serves your purpose? Not at all the innocent you like to pretend. Must be your rural background. That old native cunning we often hear about' (McCabe 2006, p.78). There is a parallel here with how Hatch's Uncle Florian amused the nuns at the orphanage where Hatch was sent when his mother died and where Florian would visit and molest him while beguiling the nuns: 'The sisters loved to see him coming. They asked him to play 'The Last Rose of Summer', the Thomas Moore song. And it must be admitted that he played it quite magnificently. It wasn't like the other tunes. It was softer, more lyrical and gentle and mellow' (McCabe 2006, p.189).

The similarities Hatch shares with people like Florian and Ned are mentioned frequently throughout *Winterwood*. Ned constantly tells Hatch he is like his father, referring to him as a 'chip off the old block' (McCabe 2006, p.99). Catherine recognises him instantly in the taxi near the end of the novel, even though she has not seen him since he faked his suicide and he has not just grown older but completely altered his appearance by growing a beard and wearing a baseball cap. But it is here when he is murdering his ex-wife that Hatch catches a glimpse of himself in the rear view mirror and realises that he could 'have passed for Ned Strange. You could see the copper-red curls showing from underneath the baseball cap. Why, I literally could have been the man's twin' (McCabe 2006, p.182). The absence of any kind of definitive identity for Hatch is part of Bhabha's psychic image of identification in which identity is never complete. For Bhabha this psychic image marks the site of ambivalence; it is at this point where Bhabha states that identity is always 'spatially split – it makes present something that is absent – and temporally deferred: it is the representation of a time that is always elsewhere' (Bhabha 2004, p.73).

By the end of the novel, the reader is given a clue that Ned is actually Hatch's childhood abuser, his Uncle Florian, and that the revenant who narrates the end of the novel refers to Hatch as Little Red, a name his Uncle Florian called him when he was younger. The physical similarities between them and the significance of their similar names also support this conclusion. Larry Kennedy reacts to Hatch, who now goes by the name Auld Pappie Tiernan, saying he was returning to Slievenageeha:

> I knew it all along! Auld Pappie is a mountainer at heart! Oh yes, he might like to think he's a city-bred Dubliner like us but deep down, you'll find, he's a bona fide yokel! It's in their blood, you see! Sooner or later they all go back. But I'll tell you this, Pappie, we're all gonna miss you — ya great big hillbilly sheep-fucker you!

In Bhabha's terms, such comments are the attribution of ambivalence in relation to power or knowledge, which calculates 'the traumatic impact of the return of the oppressed - those terrifying stereotypes of savagery, cannibalism, lust and anarchy which are the signal points of identification and alienation, scenes of fear and desire, in colonial texts' (Bhabha 2004, p.104). Hatch cannot escape from himself and how people see him as something from a bygone era, a relic that is uncivilised, wild and savage, and this is part of what Lloyd calls the 'seemingly endless violence that is constitutive of modernity' (Lloyd 2011, p.29). It is this repression which becomes a constant source of conflict for Hatch, as the repressed past returns repeatedly and is the fuel for the decisions he makes throughout the novel.

Return of the Repressed

The return of the repressed is an aspect of Hatch's subconscious which sees him unable to alloy the past with the present day. This is demonstrated by his infatuation with his young daughter's interest in *My Little Pony*, as he attempts to build a real life 'Winterwood' in the pine forests of Slievenageeha. But when he abducts his daughter he cannot understand why his daughter has no interest in *My Little Pony* any longer. It causes him to lose his temper and drug his daughter with sleeping pills. Such an extreme response tallies with Bhabha's argument about the subject's relationship with the past. Bhabha makes the point that 'you can repress it; you can disavow it. But you cannot voluntarily simply forget it because the play of memory is iterative and interruptive. And, moreover, it is symptomatic – the past can be enforced psychically into a kind of amnesia or oblivion but then something quite innocuous brings it back forcefully to our attention' (Schulze-Engler *et al* 2018, p.710). This is repeatedly demonstrated in *Winterwood*; Hatch lives in a past/present binary, and he creates a new identity

and promises to forget the past but always ends up returning to the past. Anger and violence are then caused by his inability to accept that the present will not correspond to his version of the past. Hatch's inability to forget that the past is just a memory and not a permanent fixture corresponds with Bhabha's comment that the 'fibrillation of remembering-forgetting that we need to maintain because otherwise all we can do is – we can become biased on the side of remembering, or we can turn evil on the side of forgetting' (Schulze-Engler *et al* 2018, p.712).

The return of Ned Strange is an amalgamation of his past trauma as a child and the time he spent with Ned Strange up in the mountains during the 1980s. Repression and the trauma it brings firmly anchors Hatch in a colonial paralysis previously examined in *Dracula.* Just as odour is used in Joyce's *Dubliners* and Stoker's *Dracula* as symbols of colonial paralysis, so too McCabe uses odour as a foreshadowing of the return of the repressed for Hatch. Once Hatch returns to Ireland, the ghost of Ned Strange haunts him day and night. Appearing in his apartment and forcing him to re-live his childhood rape, before Hatch abandons his apartment, leaving his clothing and belongings behind as he runs away from Ned. These scenes of terror are always foreshadowed by a peculiar odour, as Hatch notices when he is in his apartment 'the smell was in the room again – the very same damp and sickening smell' (McCabe 2006, p.35). Hatch leaves his apartment for a hostel but soon Ned reappears and so does the distinctive odour: 'there could be no mistaking it this time — it was there again. The dampness, that awful familiar asphyxiating odour […] I was so frightened by the thought of what might be about to happen that my limbs refused to respond' (McCabe 2006, p.64). The odour follows Hatch, and like Jonathan Harker in *Dracula*, Hatch is paralysed. The odour follows Hatch around even when he re-visits the desolate confectionery factory, the pine forests of Slievenageeha are 'completely overpowered by the thick sickening smell of spearmint' (McCabe 2006, p.146). In this manner, odour represents the return of the repressed as Ned represents the 'authentic spirit

of heritage and tradition of Ireland' (McCabe 2006, p.16).

In this role, Ned acts as a de-colonising agent within the novel, one at first welcomed by Hatch, as it allows him to feel a genuine sense of home and belonging even in the landscape of Celtic Tiger Dublin, where Hatch notices that all the old places are gone and 'nobody bothers with religion anymore' (McCabe 2006, p.58). When Hatch is walking past a Church in Dublin, he hears a voice telling him that he will have to bear the consequences of his evil actions and then hears another nameless voice, telling him that he was going to look after him 'you know you can trust me. I'll look after you. Till the very last pea is out of the pot, till the angels quit the hallowed halls of heaven' (McCabe 2006, p.59). The significance of his Faustian pact with the demonic Ned is enhanced by it happening outside a Church, a part of Ireland's history. The historical influence of the Church had been slowly receding, as witnessed by Pope John Paul II's visit to Ireland in 1979, a reaction to decreasing Church going numbers. And its decline was only made more prominent by the rapid expansion of the Celtic Tiger economy.

Ned also provides a clue to Hatch's identity when he asks Hatch if he knows what his name actually means in Irish. Hatch replies that it means *place* in Irish and Ned tells him that 'it also means 'strange', Little Redmond. That's what it means. It means 'strange'. I'm surprised at you not knowing that now. With you being an educated man and all' (McCabe 2006, p.129). Ned's revelation that they might be related is based on Hatch not being able to understand Irish as 'Strange reveals that Hatch is from the Irish *ait* for odd or strange' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.105). Ned mocks Hatch's education by claiming to know something about Hatch that Hatch did not know about himself. It is Bhabha's contention that when the image and identity of the colonial Other is disrupted there occurs a change whereby 'the subject cannot be apprehended without the absence or invisibility that constitutes it' (Bhabha 2004, p.67), and this allows the colonial subject to 'speak and be seen from where it is not' (Bhabha 2004, p.67).

This twist on the Irish language represents a return of the repressed, where Ned, much like Stoker warned in *Dracula*, the leaving behind of old traditions would be dangerous, and so it proves for Hatch as he pieces together his fragmented identity piece by piece. Hatch has become so obsessed with the past and Ned Strange that he cannot show any interest in politics regarding Ireland's most problematic colonial legacy: Northern Ireland. In fact, Ned watches as President Bill Clinton arrives in Ireland to help with the problems in Northern Ireland but Hatch does not 'bother with politics at all these days. Hard as it might be to believe, I'm still too busy thinking about the man I once knew as Ned Strange succumbing, as I so often do, to a certain nagging regret that I didn't listen more carefully to his stories when I had the chance' (McCabe 2006, p.93). For Bhabha 'remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful remembering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present' (Bhabha 2004, p.90). A longing for the past and Ned Strange leaves Hatch susceptible to the whims of Ned Strange, a man who represents violence and rape. This begins Hatch's descent into violence as the new modern Ireland creates psychological friction with the traditional version of Ireland he has in his mind.

In his final act, Hatch discovers that his wife, Casey, is having an affair, he quits RTÉ and gets a job as a taxi driver where he transforms into Auld Pappie Tiernan, a folksy, happy-go-lucky older rural man from the mountains. He has become Ned Strange, not just in name but in the way he talks and acts, and finally he becomes Ned Strange in the way he treats people, beguiling them with a façade of folksy charm before abducting Imogen's mother, Catherine, and murdering her. Hatch has resorted to violence and, at this point, has revealed darker aspects of his character. At this point his marriage with Catherine contains an admission of domestic abuse, and the relationship with his daughter Imogen takes on a more sinister tone when he admits to shouting at her and taking his anger out on a child. Previously he had portrayed

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himself as a loving and adoring father who just wanted to do right by his daughter. This is what Slavoj Žižek would refer to as subjective violence, in the sense that Imogen is not physically hurt at this point but the abuse and its effects are still there and still relevant, there are no deaths at this point in the novel. Žižek states that violence is caused by 'the complex interaction of the three modes of violence: subjective, objective, and symbolic' (Žižek 2008, p.11). Subjective violence is the most visible and 'enacted by social agents, evil individuals, disciplined repressive apparatuses, fanatical crowds' (Žižek 2008, p.11). However, objective violence, according to Žižek, is a more fundamental problem as it is more insidious in its nature and less obvious to people around the victim 'objective violence is invisible since it sustains the very zero-level standard against which we perceive something as subjectively violent' (Žižek 2008, p.2).

Hatch is an example of the Other speaking directly to us; unlike Dracula who has very little to say except through the mouths and words of others, Hatch gives us his side of the story but is unable to complete it as an unnamed person or entity finishes the novel. This narrator explains how Hatch can no longer speak and appears to be in a state of paralysis: 'After that, I'm afraid, he appears to lose the power of speech, just sits there staring, uttering sounds which are quite indecipherable. Certainly making no sense' (McCabe 2006, p.239). The world Hatch imagines is a world of tradition and regression. Despite the fact that Ned Strange is a rapist and murderer, Hatch still feels a loyalty to Ned and the way of life that Hatch believes that Ned represents. This is what Žižek describes as the purest form of ideology which 'is precisely the neutralisation of some features into a spontaneously background that marks out ideology at its purest and at its most effective' (Žižek 2009, p.31). From another perspective, Fanon states that 'decolonization is always a violent phenomenon' (Fanon 2001, p.27). For Fanon, decolonisation is an attempt to change the order of the world and is a 'programme of complete

disorder' (Fanon 2001, p.27). Hatch attempts decolonisation throughout the novel, he abducts and murders his daughter and wife and brings them up into the mountains of Slievenageeha where he attempts to re-create Winterwood, but even as he does the reality breaks through as Fanon states 'decolonization is the meeting of two forces, opposed to each other by their very nature' (Fanon 2011, pp.27-28). Not only is Hatch trying to re-create a fictional place, but he is also trying to re-create a past that no longer exists. His daughter has moved on from *My Little Pony* and is now watching *Sweet Valley High*. When Hatch discovers this, it disturbs him: 'What she'd, in fact, been watching was something called *Sweet Valley High.* I knew nothing about that and it made me feel depressingly inadequate. Which resulted in my becoming, I have to say, somewhat agitated' (McCabe 2006, p.85). Hatch is demonised by almost everyone he meets. Larry Kennedy accuses him of bestiality, Catherine accuses him of being cunning, and his second wife Casey thinks he is a hillbilly who has been modernised by civilised society. He is repeatedly subjected to derogatory comments based on where he is from, falling in line with Fanon's belief that 'the native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values' (Fanon 2011, p.32). Hatch then turns to Slievenageeha and the creation of Winterwood, which he compares to the city and modernity, and he finds that Winterwood is better and imagines how it will 'endure for ever and beyond' (McCabe 2006, p.216). He is wrong, of course, he can no more re-create the past than he can bring back his dead daughter and wife. He brings the corpses presents at Christmas, he sits and talks to them, but he cannot bring them back.

At each turn Hatch is prevented from reaching his goals, both of his marriages fail, he is a murderer and a compulsive liar just like Ned Strange, even his return to Slievenageeha is a reminder that nothing stays frozen in time. Slievenageeha now has a four star hotel, a new Lidl and shows all the economic signs of the modernity he is trying to escape. In the end, Hatch

does not even have the power of narration, Ned Strange takes over narrating the story revealing that Hatch is found dead in his apartment, as detectives, who have been investigating him in relation to the disappearance of his wife and daughter, finally catch up with him. Hatch wakes up in Winterwood where he sees Catherine walking towards him and as she lays down beside him. He realises that it is not Catherine but Ned Strange now revealing himself to be his Uncle Florian who is lying down beside him. As he watches the incisors of Ned Strange/his Uncle Florian, Hatch realises 'just who his companion was, as I flashed my incisors and drew him towards me: Little Red' (McCabe 2006, p.242). Hatch, just like Jonathan Harker, lays on the ground waiting to be penetrated in 'this vampiric conclusion' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.105), as Hatch is doomed to spend eternity in a hell of his own making.

In *Winterwood*, McCabe attempts to challenge the 'icons of postcolonial literary traditions' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109). For McCabe, this is based on the tradition of the storyteller in Irish culture which has 'long been placed on high as the propagator of true Irish tradition, *teanga* and all' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109), and he does this by 'challenging the postcolonial tradition through his own perverse storytellers, both Strange and Hatch' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109). Parents send their children to his *ceilidh* to get a sense of authentic Irish culture but once finished they return to the modernity of Dublin. Their connection with traditional Ireland is brief, a few days of music and the Irish language, which itself is a commercial and commodified product similar to any glitzy nightclub or product that 21st Century Dublin has to offer. Ned Strange is not just a storyteller who has a quirky or odd side to his character, he is 'a gothic monster, a paedophile, who trains Hatch not in 'traditional Irish stories' but in wife and child murdering' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109). He is a gatekeeper who controls how much access Hatch has to Irish tradition and filters 'songs and stories through his own perverse objective' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109). Ned Strange

is selling a product just as much as any housing developer and on occasion even Ned lets the mask slip, from the very beginning when Ned believes that his performance is over he throws his fiddle 'across the table with undisguised disdain' (McCabe 2006, p.4). Later when he is talking to Hatch he threatens to smash the fiddle. 'I'll smash this fucking fiddle in bits! he snapped' (McCabe 2006, p.99). Ned's status as a gatekeeper of Irish tradition is a smokescreen for the violence and sexual assault he inflicts upon his victims. The links to Irish culture that Ned Strange provides to the children sent to him are temporary, recreational and they exist only in the public sphere and not in the home when they leave Slievenageeha as 'the children sent to Strange live this Irish culture only when they are with him' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.107).

Ned recognises this, he knows that he is putting on a performance, that the fiddle he so carelessly discards is a prop that he is more than willing to smash into pieces. He has no authentic love of the culture he claims to be the gatekeeper of, a characteristic McCabe uses to criticise 'the commodification of 'traditional' culture which occurs when culture is experienced as a class or an event only, rather than as an integrated and normal aspect of home life' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.107). It is a product that he has developed and appropriated for his own malignant madness and he uses it to manipulate everyone around him to get what he wants as he knows these 'cultural locations are idealized, they are too sacred to incorporate into everyday life and are too 'authentic' to question' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.107). Ned is selling an idealised version of Irish culture that he knows is: 'a bottled culture with unequal parts; colonial and postcolonial versions of a supposedly original and traditional culture' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.107). For Ned, though, it is the cultural capital that he gains from this performance and 'in the case of *Winterwood*, the cultural cache Strange is given allows him to successfully prey upon his students for years' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012,

p.107). For this unequal, postcolonial version to be successfully portrayed as an authentic culture, Ned needs the people viewing him as a gatekeeper of genuine Irish culture to do what he has successfully made Hatch do throughout the novel and apply a selective amnesia to their memories, as Gandhi notes how in the introduction to Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks:*

> Homi Bhabha, announces that memory is the necessary and sometimes hazardous bridge between colonialism and the question of cultural identity. Remembering, he writes, 'is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present'.

<div align="right">(Gandhi 1998, p.9)</div>

Ned is a master at manipulating the memories of anyone that might demonstrate how his lies are false. When the barman speaks to Hatch on his own at the beginning of the novel, he attempts to warn Hatch that Ned is a liar and that his stories about leaving for America to find Annemarie Gordon are false as Ned has 'never once left the valley. Never set foot outside Slievenageeha' (McCabe 2006, p.5). But Ned overhears the warning that Hatch has received and tells Hatch that the barman is doting and that he is 'not from the mountain at all, in fact. He's not one of us' (McCabe 2006, p.5). Later, Ned tells Hatch a story of how a woman living in the mountains of Slievenageeha was up late at night knitting when she heard a noise and spotted 'a *creature*. A thing that had come creeping around there at night' [italics in original] (McCabe 2006, p.8). As Ned is telling a mountain story he thinks that Hatch is not quite convinced of the authenticity of the account, and Ned notes how 'them memories, they don't just up and walk away. You reckon them memories just get up and walk away?' (McCabe 2006, p.8). When Hatch does not respond, Ned becomes aggressive and shouts and swears at Hatch before reverting to a more cordial and humorous personality, but he has achieved his aim of highlighting how false stories can become false memories and vice versa if it suits his

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aim of controlling the person. He has made Hatch believe that if something awful has happened once then it can happen again, and more sinisterly it can happen to Hatch.

Ned knows how to draw divisions within people, and it is applied to maximum effect at this early point in the novel and plays a crucial part throughout the novel. However, even Ned is proven wrong at the end of the novel when he is sitting by the babbling brook and observes the changes in Slievenageeha and notes how the Gold Club, a casino that was being planned at the start of the novel when Ned mentions it and then dismisses it with 'anyhow, it will never happen' (McCabe 2006, p.10). But at the end of the novel, the Gold Club is up and running and 'is jaw-droppingly spectacular' (McCabe 2006, p.225). Ned's lies and false prophecies are laid bare for Hatch and all notions of a mystical Celtic magic in the mountains of Slievenageeha are exposed for the lies they were even as Ned declares with his first meeting with Hatch that 'the mountain doesn't go away. It doesn't go away – you hear?' (McCabe 2006, p.7). At the end of the novel the old Slievenageeha is gone and the lies and madness that Ned used to abuse the people around him is a relic of the past. McCabe uses this madness to illustrate social criticism and part of this 'criticism addresses the binary relationship that perpetuates postcolonialism – that of colonizer/colonized' (Dougherty-McMichael 2012, p.109). For this, McCabe employs Redmond Hatch, a symbol of colonial trauma, a hybrid creation who longs to be in a past that never existed, while being unable to live in the present which exists as a product of capitalism. In this manner, Hatch demonstrates how the coloniser/colonised binary can be disrupted, highlighting an Ireland that seems to be in a state of perpetual and often violent transition.

Conclusion

Irish Colonial Hybridity

In this thesis I have demonstrated how colonial hybridity exists in Irish historical documents beginning with the 1641 legal depositions before examining Irish fairy folklore and Irish Gothic literature. The research material covers almost four centuries of Irish history, exhibiting that Irish colonial hybridity is an amorphous and eclectic concept within Irish postcolonial studies. I have established a set of parameters to show how hybridity is as evident in legal depositions as it is in fictional vampires, it plays a part in the tragic life of Bridget Cleary and the fictional life of Redmond Hatch. The research has shown that hybridity is not limited to the beginning of Irish Gothic literature and ending with contemporary Irish literature but is an ongoing process in Ireland. Elizabeth Price and Bridget Cleary are real people who lived real lives at different points in time in Ireland's history. The people in the 1641 depositions were real people, their depositions of the dead talking to them and calling for their deaths to be avenged might seem as fantastic as vampires rising from the dead to torment the living but they demonstrate the duality of colonial hybridity, highlighting the research question that Irish colonial hybridity is not confined to literature.

The research underscores one of the central tenets of Bhabha's theories of hybridity that when the coloniser and the colonised collide both are transformed. The deposition of Elizabeth Price begins the catalogue of superstitions and the spirits of the dead speaking to the living and demanding vengeance. Colonial writing classified Ireland and the Irish as superstitious and uncivilised, however, the research has accentuated how in the depositions it is members of the Protestant community which display a belief in superstition. The superstitions demonstrated in

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Chapter One are continued in Irish fairy folklore at the end of the 19th Century. Bridget Cleary embraces modernity and the changes taking place in Ireland but she also becomes a victim of people like her husband Michael Cleary and Jack Dunne. A fact observed by Bourke when she notes how in modern Ireland a whole world of 'wakes, herbal cures, stories of kings and heroes, and legends of the fairies – the culture of those who had not learned to read and write – became increasingly marginal, Jack Dunne, Michael Cleary, his older brother Patrick, and several others in this story, were among these people' (Bourke 2006, p.9).

In chapters three and four, the vampires of Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu and Bram Stoker underline how the creation of the Irish vampire in the early and late stages of the 19th Century display colonial hybridity with important Irish historical dates mentioned in Le Fanu's *Carmilla*, and various Irish superstitions being used as Gothic tropes in Stoker's *Dracula*. The move into Irish Gothic literature at this point in the thesis demonstrates the transition from Irish historical documents and Irish fairy folklore into English literature, the thesis observes how Bhabha's ambivalence becomes a subversive force within both Le Fanu and Stoker's work. Multifunctional and encoded within the Gothic text, so a vampire is never just a vampire, the vampire becomes empire, an invading force from the East into the West, from the superstitious and Gothic settings of Transylvania to the heart of modernity as Dracula arrives in London to begin his own colonialization.

The thesis has provided examples of colonial hybridity in both of these works of Irish Gothic literature and has emphasised how modernity in *Dracula* is reflected in the technological advances used in the epistolary novel. *Dracula*, however, is not entirely accepting of modernity, the characters warn of the dangers of accepting modernity in place of older traditions. One of the facets of modernity was the liberation of women in the form of the New Woman, however, it is Mina with her dismissiveness of the New Woman who survives

and is the heroine who defeats Dracula, while Lucy is portrayed as the promiscuous version of the New Woman and is punished by being decapitated. Jonathan Harker is a rational-minded person at the beginning of the novel who dismisses traditional superstitions but once he is under attack from Dracula he finds that the crucifix is now a powerful weapon in his battle against evil. Harker resorts to wearing the crucifix around his neck and while trapped in the castle battling Dracula he realises that 'the old centuries had, and have powers of their own which mere 'modernity' cannot kill' (Stoker 1994, p.49). *Dracula* is a reminder of how powerful the past can be and how older traditions remain and have what Lloyd calls 'the structure of myth' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). In leaving his old castle in Transylvania, Dracula is a symbol of an ancient ruin, the past returning to the present, Lloyd writes that ruins are 'the part of a past that lives on to find its place and meaning in a relation with the present' (Lloyd 2008, p.15). The research demonstrates how colonial hybridity is identified by processes of iteration and translation through which their meanings are vicariously addressed through Gothic tropes whether it is the dead talking to the living in the 1641 depositions or Bridget Cleary being held over an open fire and forced to renounce a fairy, vampires invading London or the ghost of Ned Strange haunting Hatch through the streets of 21st century Dublin.

The thesis reveals how Irish colonial hybridity contains a doubling, dissembling image of being in at least two places at once. This makes the presence of colonist authority no longer immediately visible. For Bhabha this psychic image marks the site of ambivalence, it is at this point where Bhabha states that identity is always 'spatially split – it makes present something that is absent – and temporally deferred: it is the representation of a time that is always elsewhere' (Bhabha 2004, p.73). It is Bhabha's contention that when the image and identity of the colonial Other is disrupted there occurs a change whereby 'the subject cannot be apprehended without the absence or invisibility that constitutes it' (Bhabha 2004, p.67), and

this allows the colonial subject to 'speak and be seen from where it is not' (Bhabha 2004, p.67). The research synthesised in this thesis draws attention to this, whether it is Le Fanu's superimposing the Irish countryside into the Austrian setting of *Carmilla* or the traumatic journey of Redmond Hatch in 21st century Ireland.

A colonial reading of *Winterwood* sees Hatch as a symbol of the colonial trauma which Ireland exhibits as it lurches violently from one dramatic change to another but it is Hatch who notices how successful Ireland is at repressing its traumatic past when he takes comfort in the fact that most people had 'forgotten the old idiot […] Ned Strange was just another old relic, a forgotten memory from a country that had more or less vanished, now that the modern world had long last arrived' (McCabe 2006, p.182). Trauma is often accompanied by a selective amnesia which allows the person to continue their day-to-day life putting off the processing of the traumatic event until such a time as the person is able to process the trauma (Freud 2001). This forgetting is not just an important part of the structure of the novel as an unreliable narrator tells the story but acts as an allegory to remind us that forgetting the past means we often sabotage the future as well.

This thesis has demonstrated how primary source material and Irish literature show that Irish colonial hybridity is an amorphous and eclectic concept within Irish postcolonial studies. Bhabha shows it is the 'inbetween space that carries the burden of the meaning of culture, and by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves' (Bhabha 2004, p.38), which should inform our present and future in a progressively multi-cultural world, where notions of identity and history, of place and nation remain a central part of Bhabha's interstices.

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